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THE STANDARD.

THE NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

Phonographically reported by JAMES M. W. YERRINTON.

FRIDAY EVENING, May 27 1864.

THE Convention was called to order at 8 o'clock, Mr. QUINCY occupying the chair. The audience was quite large at that time, and continued to increase, until the Temple was crowded in every part.

The Chairman stated that the question before the Convention was on the adoption of the resolutions presented by Mr. GARRISON as substitutes for those offered by Mr. PILLSBURY, and both series were read by one of the Secretaries, Mr. POWELL.

Speech of Parker Pillsbury.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I did not propose to occupy another moment of the time of the Convention, and I certainly have risen with a great deal of reluctance. I do not understand why such a motion as that should have been made. The truth is, whether we are willing to accept it or not, this Anti-Slavery enterprise is the life of this nation, and if it have any salt, it is here. The politicians and the Churches are looking to this city of ours—a city set on a hill. They are not particular whether we congratulate the Administration on its achievements; they are not particular whether we congratulate certain States on the abolition of slavery, in so far as it has been accomplished; but they want to know what this Society thinks of the great Anti-Slavery question which we have considered, and which we have enforced upon the consideration of the country now for more than thirty years. I could read you letters from Senators in Congress, written within the last two or three weeks—written, some of them, since our anniversary in New York—complaining that ours is an uncertain sound. True and faithful men in Congress say, that, as we do not press the abolition of slavery as in time past, and affirm the necessity of adherence to the principles of absolute justice and righteousness as in time past, the conservative Republicans in Congress are taking courage in their conservatism therefrom, and that it is in vain that any of the faithful men in Congress are endeavoring still to be faithful. I wish I had some of those letters here; but of this I suppose we are certain—that we have come at last to believe that the Administration has never yet, on its own confession, adopted one of our principles or measures, as the best instrumentality that can be employed now by the nation for the accomplishment of our grand purpose. When Fort Sumter was cannonaded, we were told that our work was done; we were told by men high in position in the Anti-Slavery enterprise, that the American Army was now the American Anti-Slavery Society, and that not Mr. May, but Gen. Winfield Scott was its General Agent, and we were required to "stand still and see the salvation of God." That was the sentiment enjoined. It was a very unhappy quotation, even of a very ancient Scripture, for the response to that sentiment, even then, was, "Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward." "Stand still, and see the salvation of God!" If there was ever a doctrine of devils, it was that. "Stand still and you shall see the *stagnation* of God," is the universal law, in all time; and, consequently, we were misled when that sentiment was inculcated upon us. Our work was *not* done; three years have shown that it was not; and now, it seems to me, there is a necessity for a return to our former position.

The country is exultant at the strange and fearful utterance of General Grant—"I shall put this work forward, on this line, if it takes all Summer"; and we are now making that almost the watchword of the American army and of the country. But what do these fearful words imply? What but additional slaughter? What but additional butchery, what but additional suffering, mourning and woe? That is not God's plan of saving this country. God has no idea of saving this nation through any such instrumentality.

We have heard the sentiment inculcated on this platform, yesterday and to-day, that we are to rely on the Administration—to rely on that kind of agency and instrumentality. Now, is that God's plan of saving the nation, or saving men? Are you willing that another long and dreary Summer shall bear onward to eternity another register of hundreds and thousands of your young braves, their lives sacrificed, not in fighting Jeff. Davis, but the Jehovah of Hosts? For the command of God is clear enough, plain enough; and until we do justice, until we proclaim liberty, we cannot be saved. We may vanquish the South to the Gulf of Mexico, but that is not salvation. On the other hand, the South may vanquish the North, and lay it in ashes from the shores of the lakes to the extremity of Madawaska; but if, in the very ashes of the North, we sit down in penitence and contrition, remembering the sin against our brother, it will be a triumph over which all heaven will rejoice.

All philosophy is false, it is absolute atheism, which does not contemplate the justice and righteousness of God. We talk of iron-clads, and Irish conscripts, and cannon, and columbiads, when the command of the Most High is, "Execute justice and judgment, and then shall thy light break forth as the morning." Is that the sentiment even of this platform? Is it the sentiment of the Church? Is it the sentiment, at least, of the government?

I did not wish to speak a word this evening; but it seems to me we owe it to the handful of faithful men in Congress, we owe it even to the President himself, instead of passing congratulatory resolutions, to give fresh utterance to faithful and persevering testimony. It seems to me that we owe it to them, and to all that is faithful in the country, that we return to our former position; and make our voice again heard, and our influence felt, that such a man as Charles Sumner—for I believe he is about the last Abdiel, "faithful among the faithless found," —that such at least as he shall feel that there is a little band that have not yet bowed the knee to the image of Baal.

I do not understand what the proposition means, to substitute these congratulatory resolutions for the utterance of stern and important truths. I do not believe we shall do it. I have no idea that we shall. Let congratulatory resolutions be properly tempered, and no one is more ready to adopt them than I; but if you ask me to adopt them as substitutes for the utterance of faithful testimony, and just and proper criticism, I think the demand is altogether too unreasonable, and I cannot accede to it.

Speech of Wendell Phillips, Esq.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I have heard these two sets of resolutions for the first time this evening. I see no reason why one should be substituted for the other (applause). It seems to me that, with some slight alterations, they should both receive the sanction of this Convention, and be passed as the expression of its opinion. The resolutions offered by my friend Mr. Pillsbury appear to me to express the exact and literal, and needed truth; a truth, not only exact and literal, but *needed* at the present hour, and especially fit and important for an Anti-Slavery Convention to utter. It seems to me, as I stated last night, that in a country like this, where the government does not reside at Washington, but only the Administration resides there—the agents of the government; in a reading country, where nine men out of every ten daily inform themselves of public affairs, and make up an opinion on them; in a country where one city cannot change the government before another city can hear of it, as was the case when Montesquieu said, "Paris is France"—meaning that Paris could change the government before Marseilles could hear of it and intervene—but, on the contrary, in a country like this, where you can concentrate, by telegraph and railway, the opinions of a million of men in twenty-four hours upon a given point—the people have become the largest portion in the government, and only their agents reside at Washington. And not only that, but Mr. Lincoln has again and again avowed that he sits there waiting to know what the people want, and what the people will dare—what the public opinion will enable him to do. We are, therefore, a part of the government.

Allow me to repeat again what I quoted last night from Cobden, as his analysis of the nature of government, in a Republican country. That reform and agitation are a part, and a recognized part, of modern affairs, was all expressed, he said, in two words—Principle, Pressure. The people announcing absolute right—Principle; government forced to enact in statutes as much as statesmanship can make available at the time—Pressure. I contend that our part in this partnership is to elaborate and declare the absolute, theoretical, final right, and then let statesmanship, politics, the Baltimore and Cleveland Conventions, and Republican assemblies, settle how far they can go toward that goal to-day. It is not for us to descend into the arena of availability, and count up what can be done: but it is for us to announce, as we always have done, fearlessly, what ought to be done—what the necessities of the case, and the future, and the laws of justice, demand should be done. When I come here, therefore, as a member of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society and the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, I come as an Abolitionist, as a reformer, as a creator of public opinion.

I am aware, as my friend Mr. Pillsbury has just stated, that the leaders of public action in the Senate House are saying to-day, and have been saying for the last three months, "We are trying to drag the members of the Republican party up to the level of what the times demand;" and their answer to us is, "the Old Guard don't ask for anything; they express entire satisfaction; why should we voluntarily go beyond what they demand? Wait until they find out something we have not done, and ask for it!" I am aware that they point to Boston, and say, "We find no urgent demand there for anything more, and we decline to go ahead, without being bayoneted forward, as we have been for the last dozen years." I say, that earnest and sincere anti-slavery men, occupying that position, should never be able to say this; and therefore I do not think that we have been quite fulfilling our function of late, in elaborating the absolute right, and urging party to the embodying of it, as much as possible, into law. You will understand me, therefore, as coming here to-night as an Abolitionist and reformer, not a politician.

Now I want to say a word in behalf of the resolutions of Mr. Pillsbury, but not in denial of those of my friend Mr. Garrison. I object to the commencement of Mr. Garrison's, because I do not think it the truth. It says this: "That the progress of the anti-slavery cause, since the rebellion broke out, in view of the fearfully divided state of public sentiment, of the feeling toward the negro race throughout the North, almost verging upon bloody civil war at our doors, has been wonderful," etc. I am perfectly willing to say that "the progress of the anti-slavery cause since the rebellion broke out has been wonderful." I have no doubt of that; no man can deny it who is acquainted with our country; but, at the same time, I am not willing to say that it has been wonderful "in view of the fearfully divided state of public sentiment, and the feeling toward the negro race throughout the North, almost verging upon bloody civil war, at our doors." There was no such state of things existing in 1861 or 1862. If it exists to-day, or if it has existed within six months, the government created it (applause). I therefore object to that part of Mr. Garrison's resolution, and I would like to add another clause to his concluding resolution, and then I would pass them, in addition to Mr. Pillsbury's.

Understand me. I am not here to-night to be thrown, by adverse pressure, into the attitude of a desponding speaker. Some gentlemen on this platform to-day have taken it for granted that my friend Mr. Foster, Mr. Pillsbury, myself, and others who have spoken on the same side, are despondent. Now, I have not an element of despondency from the crown of my head to the sole of my foot—not one. I am as full of faith in God and Democracy as I ever was. I am as full of conviction that when this epoch is ended—this epoch; not when you call home the cannon and furl the banner, necessarily—but when this epoch, marked by a strife betwixt Northern and Southern ideas is ended—when this struggle between Massachusetts and South Carolina, the one to supersede the other, is ended, I have not the shadow of a doubt that the North will own the continent and give law down to the Gulf (applause). In Europe, all governments tend, by inevitable gravitation, towards democracy—toward the recognition of every man as a citizen—a government based on brains. Here, likewise, it gravitates in the same direction. The North, full of men, skill, education, thrift, purpose, God reigning, must give law to this continent in the end, and make the South (beggarly, in comparison) over in its own image. The only question is—when? Shall it be at the end of this sharp ordeal of war? When peace comes, and you hang your torn but glorious banners up in your halls, shall there be one harmonious people, and one unmixed government from the Atlantic to the Pacific, or shall there be again a seeming Union, covering the seeds and elements of quarrel, as it did before—which? Shall we round the Republic into one perfect whole, the envy of the nations, able to dictate law to the continent; or shall it be an aggregation of particles, not fused together, but merely massed up by accident, perhaps to break asunder again—which? That is the only question which divides opinion on this platform. I look back with the same satisfaction that Mr. Garrison does on all that has been done—all of it. That long and goodly list is as familiar to my lips as it is to his. I am willing to go further, and to say that events crowd upon us so fast, shoot by us so quickly, like the landscape from a railway train, that we can hardly stop to discriminate, and ask their full meaning. We are borne on so rapidly, that we hardly know what is carrying us, nor whither we are tending.

"The current sweeps on; we are borne on its track;
Every beacon on shore is but glimpsed at and gone,
The desponding look down, and the timid look back,
While Hope points to Liberty's star, and looks *on*."

(Applause.) So do I. Nobody has a firmer faith or a fuller hope.

Another thing. You would imagine, from some of the discussions which have taken place here, that President Lincoln's personal character is at stake; that we were weighing him in the balances in which the Divine Judge will finally weigh him—motive against temptation, education and opportunity against action—and making up the verdict. We are doing nothing of the kind. The amount of his sin or his virtue is no matter of mine. How much he ought to have done, and how much he has failed to do, God knows; and I leave that judgment where it belongs. I cannot penetrate into his heart and judge his motives, and if I could, I have no need to do so. I want him only as a tool to work out a certain result. For me, he is only an agent to do a certain kind of business. I want a plane, and you offer me a chisel. Well, I do not insult the chisel by flinging it aside and saying still, "I want a plane." Neither do you remove my objections by crying out, "Boards *can* be planed with a chisel!" True, if you take a week for the job—a great loss of time. If I can have a plane, I prefer it, other things being equal. I am merely discriminating. I see before me a devious channel, through which the Ship of State must be piloted. I see every hour momentously important, because every hour lost is an opportunity for misfortune. Every month that the war lasts hardens the rebellion into a nation, and doubles the chance of foreign interference. I want, therefore, as my servant, whenever I can get him, a man who, I think, understands the problem, is capable, by constitutional and acquired bias and education, to pilot the Ship of State speedily and safely through, at the least cost. Mr. Lincoln comes to me after three years' service, and says, "There is my record—reappoint me!" I shall look, to decide, where? To that record. He comes, this November, a servant, to us, his sovereigns, and asks us to continue his power. Well, what are we to do? Examine. Has he any greater stake in the nation than I have? Take him from his pedestal, and he is but a single man. The country is ours—free institutions are ours—the future is ours—the cost is ours—the peril is ours—as well as his. He does not demand, he has no right to demand, indemnity from criticism. He holds up his record as his claim for another four years of power.

Now, therefore, as a citizen, as an agitator, as a reformer, looking over the country, hoping and most anxious to do the best, what voice shall I utter? I am going, first, to look at the country. I see a Confederacy one-third subdued after a three years' war. Just about one-third; but I will grant you, if you please, that it is one-half subdued. You may take any proportion. The government has had ample means, enough time, unlimited power, and they have done just half the work that was to be done. The question is, whose fault is it? My friend Garrison says, "The people's; Mr. Lincoln has done as well as he could; he has always stood ahead of the people; he has used every weapon as soon as they gave it to him, and has always led rather than lagged behind public opinion." Well, it is a matter of opinion whether he has or not. One can fortify his judgment with facts, and another can—but in the end, it is a matter of judgment. I am not very much surprised that my excellent and honored friend, Mr. Thompson, uttered the eulogy which he did this morning (though I had not the pleasure of hearing it) on the action of the President; because there are two facts on which one must base his judgment: one is, "What is the President?"—and the other is, "What have been his tools?" There is a piece of work to be done; here is the mechanic; there are his tools. Now, in regard to the mechanic (that is, the President) and his tools (that is, the people and public opinion), I think our honored visitor makes two mistakes. In regard to the second, I have no surprise in seeing him make it. He agrees with Mr. Garrison, and the expression of this resolution, that the President seems to have made the most economical use of all the means placed in his hands, and all the public opinion that he could command. I do not wonder at Mr. Thompson's taking that view, coming here as he has done within the last three months. He knows only the public opinion of this country debauched by a weak-minded and worse-hearted Administration (applause and hisses). He never saw and cannot know the twenty million of 1861 and '62, when the people, as a unit, laid itself at the feet of the government, uttering no single word except—"Onward!"—making no claim, except—"Tax us and let us bleed; but do the work at once and forever!" (Applause.) I deny, and I appeal to you, every man of you, as a judge, that in '61 and '62, there was any such divided public opinion as represented by this resolution. My evidence, familiar to every man, is this that when the war broke out, every hand, every voice, every eye, turned to the slave system. Democrat out-did Whig, both out-ran Abolitionists—taunted me and Mr. Garrison as conservative. No single paper at the North—and what are papers? Vanes—weathercocks. The editor prints what will sell. He writes what will get him subscribers. He puts his ear to the ground, and listens with Indian vigilance to hear, one moment before other ears can, the coming tread, and interpret it. The press, from the Mississippi to the Bay of Massachusetts, from the lakes down to Maryland, with the single exception of the Boston *Courier* (and the exception makes the unanimity all the more remarkable), when Fremont issued his proclamation, said, enthusiastically, "Amen!" (Loud applause.) There was not a print, from the New York *Herald* to the worst print in New York, that did not endorse it. You met no man in the streets who did not say "Amen." One unbroken wave of delight rolled from the Bay of Massachusetts to the Rocky Mountains, sweeping every dissent, if it existed, before it. At that moment, if the President of the United States had put himself at the head of that public opinion, he could have flung the seventeen States in one red-hot thunderbolt on the rebellion (applause). You know—at least every man accustomed at that time to address public assemblies knows—that you could not possibly utter anywhere, in the most mixed audiences, a word that went beyond the popular demand. Why, the very moment that the report of the gun at Sumter reached Boston, the veriest Hunker in the State, who had just voted scores of times for Jefferson Davis, locked his office, put the key in his pocket, wrote to Gov. Andrew for a commission, and started on his crusade against slavery—Ben. Butler (applause). He did not know exactly where he was going, or what he was doing, but he obeyed the great impulse; and that impulse is tested by what he became. He went to Maryland, and the first thing you heard of him was, that, blinded by the cobwebs of his old ideas, he said he would return a slave; but in ten days, he had coined the word "contraband"; [illegible] more, he had revolutionized Fortress Monroe; in a month or two, he had become the apostle of an anti-slavery gospel which made ours tame in comparison (applause). Now, I will allow, if you please (not that I really think it) that Butler has not an atom of heart; no morale; no principle whatever; that he has nothing but the shrewdness of a politician, and has his eye fixed on the Presidency. Grant it all for the moment, still he is just as good a yardstick to measure the public with! Where did he go for popularity? What means did his unquestioned shrewdness adopt to plant himself deep down forever in the hearts of the people of 1861? He outran us all in anti-slavery zeal and effort. That such a keen politician chose that course, shows me what he (and a shrewder judge does not live) considered the strength and unanimity of public opinion. That by so doing he succeeded in making himself the most popular man in the North of all the war has thrown to its surface, shows me he judged correctly. Why, he endeavored to plant himself down in the stratum of old-fashioned anti-slavery, deep as he could get (applause). He said to himself, "If this is ever to be a nation, it is to be a nation on an anti-slavery basis." I take him as a good yardstick. He knew what he was about. I maintain at this day, that the name of Ben Butler is the most popular one in the Northern States, from Massachusetts back to the Mississippi (prolonged applause). Well, what has made him the most popular man in the loyal States? Not military success—he has not had it; not long service in a civil capacity; it has not been wholly that. What made him popular was, that immediately, as if by magic, he accepted the instinctive groping of the people, and went out endeavoring to lead them into the promised land. He went so far that the Administration dreaded him, and sent him back into private life.

But I am not now testing the Administration, I am testing the people; and I say that wherever you go, no matter to what test you submit, in the years 1861 and '62, this nation was undivided—using that term in the proper sense. Of course, I do not mean every man in a hundred, but I mean ninety out of a hundred. Every man who thought for himself, and two-thirds of those who do not do their own thinking, were looking in that direction. They had no lack of courage. They would have trodden down slavery in a moment; they would have annihilated States; and my judgment is—and I believe history will confirm it—that if such a man as Butler, such a man as Fremont, had been then at the head of public affairs, this rebellion would not have lasted twelve months (applause). What hindered any man from doing then what Grant is doing now? Is there a man here who doubts that if McClellan had wished, he could have gone to Richmond? (VOICES—"No, no"; "Yes, yes.") Nobody, of course! Only recollect the patience, the silent acquiescence with which the nation, determined to believe in its government, submitted to the long, dull burden of McClellan! (Laughter and applause.) We refused, all that time, to disbelieve the intentions of the government. Traitor as we thought McClellan, we refused to interpret Lincoln by him. There was no Democratic party then. I remember lecturing, at that period, in the Northwest, from Wisconsin down to the bottom of Ohio, and men said to me—"We tremble for the President at the next election. If he gives us no better results and no more rigid policy, there will start into existence a Democratic party" ("hear, hear"). The very phrase showed the state of affairs. Again and again, by judge, lawyer, engineer, merchant, I was told—"Mark me! If the government does not do something, there will be a Democratic party next Fall." There was none then; did not dare to show its head; did not exist; that is, it had no rank and file.

All that while the people panted to be allowed to act. There is no use in my standing here and undertaking to give you the grounds of my opinion, for I should have to go over the entire record. Mr. Garrison reads the facts contrarywise. I cannot find fault with him; he reads them just as honestly that way as I do the other. I do not doubt it. My friend who sits behind me (Mr. Thompson) does not know the facts. He comes here when the indecision of the government, when the chicanery of the Cabinet, when the war, changed from an actual battle into a mere political machine, has produced a reaction in public sentiment. For the last six months, the war has been waged mostly with a view to the Presidential election. Louisiana is reconstructed with the Baltimore Convention in their eye. Florida stains her soil with blood, in order that the government may get representatives at Baltimore. Mr. Banks goes up Red River—for what? To buy the support of cotton speculators—nothing else. He creates a Military Board, and calls it a government—for what? To send fourteen delegates to Baltimore. The government has descended into the arena, to divide, and confuse, and chill the purpose of the people. At this moment, Mr. Thompson lands upon our shores. He sees a people dropped from the height of revolutionary enthusiasm down to the vulgar level of political quarrels, and he says—"Why, the President has done marvels, if he never had any better tools than these." Ah! but this cold, dead lump is not the lava 1861 gave into his hands! (Loud applause.)

Then, again I think our friend makes another mistake; and at this I am more surprised, knowing his long experience in matters of government and agitation in his own country—yet I am not very much surprised even at this; which is, that he believes so fully and kindly the pleasant words of political gentlemen at Washington. We know how wisely they can charm the ear with nice words, of which they do not keep the promise to the heart. We know too well how little resolutions, proclamations and promises have meant in days past; and he knows it, if he will call to mind the experience of his own country, and judge our political men as he does his own, by the stubborn facts of their administration, and not the pleasant words of their conversation. You know, every one of you, that I have stood on this platform, and so have my friends, year after year, and have quoted to you the good words that Mr. Lincoln whispered to Mr. Sumner, the excellent promises that he made to Mr. Wilson, the charming words he said to me. Why, when we saw him, he promised so much, we could not get hold of him anywhere. He anticipated everything we would ask, by saying he had already decided to do it, yet we have never heard of those things since. As a citizen, therefore, I refuse to commit my future to the pleasant words of Mr. Abraham Lincoln. I rate him at the exact value of his *acts*—nothing more. I am willing to give him credit for what has been done, in the exact degree in which I think *he* has done it. When he has done anything only on compulsion, at the last moment, bayonetted up to it by public opinion, I give him no credit—none at all. When he has done anything out of the impulse of his own statesmanship, of his own purpose, I give him all credit for it. But, credit or not, his credit is not the question; his laurels are not in question. The question is, what does he mean to do in the future? What does he avow? With what men does he promise to associate himself? What policy has he avowed? Now, I affirm that Mr. Lincoln has frankly chosen his party. He has frankly avowed his purpose, and has without disguise placed on record where he means to stand. He sends William H. Seward to Auburn, who makes a speech there, which is his manifest bid and price for another four years of the Secretaryship. Those who have approached Mr. Lincoln since this Presidential question was stirred, have said to him—"Sir, does your reelection mean that you come back with the old Cabinet or a new one?" "It means that I come back with the old Cabinet"—Blair, Seward, Bates, Welles and Chase. That is, the Cabinet; that is the President. What is the policy? Take Louisiana. We have full possession of a certain portion of that State—some sixteen of the thirty or forty parishes—absolute and entire command. We have endeavored to defend it—twice in difficult and doubtful moments. The white men have always stood aloof, willing to see us beaten. They have not uttered the first loyal word. We have tried them both ways. Butler took them, and put them in jail. That did not convert them. Banks invited them to his parties—learned new dances with which to please them. That has not converted them, either. His wife has scattered invitations over the rebel city, and they have been flung back unopened into her face. That has not converted them. When the white men know we need them, they always range themselves against us. When the black men know we need them, they always range themselves on our side (applause.)

Now, there are two ways of treating Louisiana. One is, to take it, hold it as in a vice, like subjects, like the vassals of India, like the territories subject to a crown. That is one way. Let those obstinate rebels die out—God's method of converting hunkers! (Applause) Let that generation pass away, and their sons come up and occupy their places. That will take twenty years. Meanwhile, Yankee thrift [illegible] crowd in and occupy the State. When that is done, we shall have a solid basis on which to build Louisiana; build it safely; built once, built forever. That is the plan which might, perhaps, be inferred from the theory of Mr. Sumner. It takes twenty years. Meantime, the government is despotism. Louisiana is vassal. Extend that over fourteen States, and you have a republic here, despotism there. It is a bad plan. It habituates the government to despotism; it educates the North to despotism; it destroys the flavor, takes off the edge of Democratic principle and vigilance. It is a bad plan. It makes the negro hate the white man; it leaves the white man to crush the negro. The negro says to General Banks—"I can get sixty-five dollars a month as an engineer." "I won't hear anything about it. Go to that plantation; stay a year; let the white man tell you what you are to do, and fix your pay; nine dollars a month is the highest price." The laborer will not work willingly, cordially, with his full heart, under such a system. Capital and labor are at war. It cannot be otherwise. When capital and labor are at war, the State, as a pecuniary experiment, is a failure. With a debt which figures cannot describe resting on the industry of the nation, the State of Louisiana will not help us pay it. The white laborer, a hundred degrees higher than the pauper laborer of Europe, is to be ground down to that level, by bearing the whole burden of the debt, which will last a century. Meanwhile, Louisiana, quarrelling its way back to peace, contributes nothing. It is a bad plan, all through.

What is the other plan? It is—Build the State at once! Give the black man a vote (applause.) Give him land, give him education. Say to the white man who is willing to stand by him, "There is a farm for you." Say to the emigrant from abroad, or to the Northerner, "There is a farm for you; take it for nothing; carry your capital to it." Labor and capital married—the result, a harmonious State, paying as much as Massachusetts toward cancelling the debt; a bulwark, enabling us to laugh at the plots of the French Emperor and of Spain (loud applause). On any other plan, it is an open door, with "Quarrel" written over its arches, inviting French Mexico to come in to instigate dissensions. This last is Durant's plan—one of the few white men of Louisiana who stand by us; a plan that Banks represents to Lincoln can be carried out and finished in three years. What is Lincoln's answer? "Crush it! Tread it out under your heels!" "What shall I put instead of it?" "Why, get ten thousand men; drag the seamen on shore; marshal the soldiers to the ballot-box; get every man from the jails and let him vote; and let me create a State out of something, get it a sham seat in the Senate, and represented in Baltimore." A State! What sort of a State? All the white men, soured by defeat, plotting aristocratic institutions, hating republicanism, sending a representative to take his place side by side with Charles Sumner, with an equal vote on the future of the country. It is national suicide! That is Mr. Lincoln's plan. I do not very much blame him for it. He was born in Kentucky. He cannot see any higher. Born among slaveholders, he cannot see beyond the level of a white skin. Not so very much his fault. But that is his plan. It is a chisel, and I want a plane. It is a curb, and I want a spur. Some horses need a curb, and others a spur. Learn the difference before you get into the saddle, or you will soon come out of it (laughter and applause). The question is, whether we shall have, in the future, democratic institutions or an aristocracy. Mr. Lincoln thinks we can get along for a while yet with aristocratic institutions, as we have done. I am not here to blame him. Let him go home to Springfield and cherish his theories; but I want a man who believes in democracy — that is all (applause). He has had his three years, and tried it, and has not succeeded. Where is my fanaticism in saying, I want somebody else to try something better. I am sick, and send for an allopathic physician; I find I am growing worse, and call in a homœopathist, to see if he will do any better. Does anybody blame me? We have tried one method, and having done little or nothing, compared with our means, decide to try another. I do not deny that the government have done something; of course they have done something. The dullest Chinese junk cannot help moving before a tornado, but it does not go ahead like a Cunarder. What I say is this; that with steam enough in the boiler to go forty miles an hour, we have only made five. Mr. Garrison thinks the boiler won't bear any more; I differ, I believe in the locomotive more than in the engineer.

Again, my friend (Mr. Garrison), if I judge from his speech this morning, reverses the old anti-slavery maxim—"If you want a thing, ask for it! If a thing is right and necessary, ask for it!" The motto to-day seems to be, "If you want a thing, don't ask for it! If a thing is necessary, don't mention it!" The franchise for the slave—it is needed—it is indispensable—it is inevitable—but there is Blondin—don't speak to him! He may go over—take care! Mr. Lincoln stands there balanced, with the pole, on a rope. Keep mum, the nation! Well, Grant stands balanced on a rope; Lee is trying to pull him over. I never heard him compared to Blondin. Nobody ever said that he ought not to be advised. When Hooker stood on the rope, and did not succeed, we changed him. When Burnside stood on the rope, and did not succeed, we changed him. When McClellan got down from the rope, we thanked God and took courage (great applause). When Meade stood on the rope, and balanced pretty well, we changed him. [A VOICE—Who changed him?] The President. The very man who says, "Don't change me!" (Tremendous applause.) Sigel, in the face of the enemy, meets with a reverse—"Change him! But I am sacred! Blondin, on a hair! Don't change me! (Laughter.) I am stooping down, with my left hand on the rope, to save with my right a clumsy rebel of New Orleans from sinking to the hell where he belongs. Don't think I shall go over! Oh, no; I am balanced—balanced exactly even!" But the question is whether he *is* well balanced, with his eye fixed upward. You know how the sailor walks a rope. You know the maxim. When you are among the shrouds, high up—a hundred feet—what does the seaman tell you? Never look down! While you keep your eye upward, you are safe!" The Abolitionist says to Lincoln—"Look up—to justice, to God, to the rights of every man under the law!" He is looking down at Kentucky, and I tremble for him. He will fall, sure as fate, for he is consulting his chances down at Baltimore, not justice overhead. That is the very reason I doubt him. I praised him as long as he seemed to carry on the war for the war's sake, for democracy's sake, for justice, to subjugate the rebel. He is carrying on the war now to reëlect himself, to conciliate the disloyal white man [applause and hisses].

I am not at all suprised at those hisses. Ten years ago, when a Republican used to stand on this platform, and rebuke us for some testimony against Webster, for some testimony against Clay, the outskirts and the gallery always applauded him, and our testimony was always hissed, from the same quarters, exactly. To-day, Mr. Lincoln is a popular, half-way man—holds power, patronage, the press, availability; no wonder that the same tier applauds him and hisses us; but our test is not up there.

MR. MAY—That tier applauds your denunciation of Mr. Lincoln. Who are they, I should like to know? They are not Abolitionists; I doubt if they are Republicans [applause, and cries of "Good"].

MR. PHILLIPS—There is Mr. May's mistake. He says I denounce President Lincoln. I do not denounce him.

MR. MAY—Let me explain a moment, for I do not wish to be misrepresented. I say, that when Mr. Phillips says that the President is carrying on this war to elect himself, it is the worst denunciation he can heap upon him [great applause and throwing up of hats in the extreme seats].

MR. PHILLIPS—Your applause, Mr. May, comes from the same quarter that hisses me, the outskirts of the audience—the chance spectator; not from the body of the house where our Convention sits. Many times as I have been hissed, I was never yet hissed by an Abolitionist. But I hope you and your friends are right in trusting Mr. Lincoln. No man will more welcome the non-fulfilment of my prophecy than I shall. I shall be delighted if this war is finished in the year, thoroughly finished, before Mr. Lincoln enters upon his second term, if he has one. You do not suppose that I am in love with paying taxes? You do not suppose that I have any peculiar pleasure in hearing that ten thousand men lost their lives yesterday? You do not suppose that I have any peculiar dislike of this nation, as a unit, when I look upon it as the sheet-anchor and guaranty of the freedom of that race to which the labor of my life has been devoted? All I want is success. All I seek is the right means to get it.

I say again, look to your President. I ask Governors, Senators, Representatives [illegible] to him—I cannot, you cannot; we stand here outside the ring—I ask the men who sit down at his side; who have been concerned with him in legislation for three years; who have watched his words, leaped or cowered under his acts. I take a score of them, the tallest, the ablest, and I say to them, "What is your private, sincere, inside opinion on the subject of Mr. Lincoln's renomination?" "Our conviction is, that it would be a great calamity to this nation" [applause and hisses]. Then I say to them, "Why don't you say so?"

[A VOICE—The people don't say so.]

MR. PHILLIPS—I know it. They don't let the people know the facts; they don't let the people know their opinions. A week ago yesterday I sat in yonder seat, and this platform was crowded with the leading Republicans of Massachusetts; the men who, for twenty years, have held the best offices in the State; the men on whose lips thousands have hung delighted for the last quarter of a century; the men, who, united, their opinion is law in the politics of the Commonwealth. I arraigned before them, as I have to-day, on the same grounds, the expediency of renominating Mr. Lincoln. I waited to hear one single word of answer—the denial of a single statement, the impeachment of a single fact, the taking to pieces of a single argument, the putting against it any other argument, the countervailing one fact by another—and they were dumb. Some of the people went up from those seats to these chairs, and said to the men whom you will elect Governors within three years, "Answer him"; and the reply was, "We can't." They went to others—"Speak in defence of the Administration"; "We prefer silence." The Committee retired to count the votes. That clock was to count an hour before they came in. What do Conventions do ordinarily on such occasions, when the platform is crowded with speakers? They say to Mr. A, or Mr. B, or Mr. C, "Entertain us; say something to us until the business is over." What do you suppose we did? Took a recess! [Laughter.] Voted to adjourn and remain in our seats; and these gentlemen remained on the platform, dumb! They let the record go. They had not one word to answer. They are themselves to be candidates in their own Districts, this week, for delegates to Baltimore. They saw no way to walk that would not in these ticklish times jeopard their chances—and so kept silent. They dare not risk the breaking of their party. That may be good policy and excusable in politicians; but you and I have risked breaking the Union, indeed for twenty years have sought to break it, in the service of liberty. Why should I shrink from the chance of breaking a corrupt party asunder in the same service? I tell you—a truth I know from many sources and the best private information—these men do not believe in your President; and your senseless clamor is what frightens them from the avowal [hisses]. If Abraham Lincoln rules this nation another four years, and it is ruled to any disaster, remember, it will not be the fault of the Copperheads that he was elected; it will be the fault of the hundred leaders of the Republican party, who, in their own hearts, look upon his renomination as a public calamity, and avow it to their intimate friends, but do not dare say it to the public [applause].

At this point in Mr. Phillips's speech [it being quarter past nine o'clock], Mr. Garrison rose and said—"Mr. President, I do not think that our friend Mr. Phillips wishes to monopolize the hours of this short evening, especially when, for every word that has been said in favor of Mr. Lincoln, or even to modify the severe criticisms that have been made upon him, twenty have been spoken at these meetings to his condemnation."

Mr. Phillips immediately took his seat, and Mr. Garrison advanced to the desk, upon which a great uproar arose, some of the audience calling vehemently for Mr. Phillips, and others as vehemently for Mr. Garrison, while applause and hisses on every side increased the din. The disturbance continued for some time, when, finally, Mr. Phillips stepped to the front, and said—"Ladies and gentlemen, listen to me a single moment. I was entirely unaware that I had taken up so much of the time of the meeting. My friend Mr. Garrison and my friend Mr. Thompson are both to follow me, and I beg you will remember that the evening belongs to them as much as to me. Listen to the expression of their opinions—perfectly honest, thoroughly considered, and as well entitled to influence your judgment, as my own—perhaps more so; for I hope they are right, and that I am wrong."

Speech of Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

MR. PRESIDENT: I did not wish my friend to retire so abruptly from the stand. I rose respectfully to remind him of the lateness of the hour; for if I should occupy your time as long as he has, and my friend, Mr. Thompson, should follow, and speak as long as either of us, it would bring us near to midnight; and I know the last thing my friend Phillips would wish to do would be to monopolise the time, especially to the exclusion of any man from whom he differs; he is too magnanimous for that.

Now in regard to the noble friend who is to follow me. Mr. Phillips has undertaken to impeach his ability to judge of the condition of our country at this time, and two years ago, with discrimination and accuracy. I will venture to say, that Wendell Phillips himself does not understand the Anti-Slavery cause any better, nor the state of public sentiment in our country, for the last thirty years, more intelligently and minutely, than George Thompson of England [applause]. His judgment, therefore, is not to be impeached in this matter. He has never shown himself at fault; he has always kept pace with us, had his hand on the national pulse and national heart, and marked all the elements of public sentiment in relation to slavery in our country.

Sir, to declare that, in 1861 and '62, there was a universal sentiment in favor of abolition, radical abolition, the abolitionism of Wendell Phillips, and that the people were all ready for it, is preposterous. Can my friend believe it for a moment? [MR. PHILLIPS—Certainly.] Why, if that be true, there never was such a marvellous conversion since the world began! [Applause.] What converted them? The people all ready, in '61 and '62, to grapple with slavery for its instant extermination by the government, and also to put the ballot into the hand of every emancipated slave in the land! who believes it? My friend says he does. Then what has changed them? Mark you!—an abolitionized North in 1861 and '62, ready to carry out all my friend now desires; and now everything is reversed because Abraham Lincoln has proved recreant to his trust! What sort of abolitionism is that? Our cause gone behind? When did it ever go backward from the hour it was launched? Nay, God has been with it from the beginning—"marching on." It went on in 1861, in 1862, in 1863, and is going on in 1864, and will continue to go on, God leading and blessing it, to final victory.

My friend ingeniously dwells upon and makes the most of a single incidental fact, that when Fremont's proclamation was put forth, it was generally and warmly approved—even the New York *Herald* affected to regard it with approbation, and also the Boston *Post*. Now, I do not recollect that any other papers in the country, of the Democratic stamp, endorsed it. From that hour, the Copperhead element began to work, and has been working ever since. We were at that period a pro-slavery nation, and there was no wish that the President of the United States should do what my friend Phillips calls upon him now to do.

The difficulty I find is to know how to answer my friend—he is so inconsistent, as it seems to me, in his treatment of Mr. Lincoln. Now the President is an unqualifiedly honest man [loud applause]. Ladies and gentlemen, you supposed that was my eulogy; I was giving it as Mr. Phillips's. Then he is an honest man, in the Kentucky sense; then he is a very dishonest man. Now he is thoroughly loyal; and now he is a traitor. Now he is anxious to see the rebellion crushed, liberty triumphant, and the Union restored; and now he does not want the rebellion put down, or the rebels hurt. Now he is ahead of the people; and now he is not only not up with them, but far behind them—actually false to his trust, and, to secure his reëlection, is willing to sacrifice any amount of treasure, any amount of human life, in conducting the war! Sir, if what my friend accuses him of is true, then Abraham Lincoln deserves to be impeached as a traitor, and punished accordingly [applause, and cries of "That's so"].

Mr. Phillips says that I claimed for Mr. Lincoln that he had exceeded public sentiment on the subject of slavery. So I did; so I believe; and I have very good authority for thinking so—the authority of my eloquent friend himself! [Applause and laughter.] Yes, Mr. President, at the very time when, as he now tells us, the nation was hot with radical Abolitionism, and ready for any governmental measure to destroy slavery, root and branch, Abraham Lincoln transcended its [illegible] As my speech is to be largely made up of quotations from the various speeches of Mr. Phillips, I will now ask the attention of the audience to them. Here is one from his speech delivered in this Temple, January 24, 1861:

"I have not a word *even of doubt* for the incoming President of Illinois. I believe that, like an honorable man, he means to keep, and has told his friends to say that he means to keep *in office* the promises that were made for him in the canvass; and while Abraham Lincoln lives—and, in spite of the rage of the men south of Mason and Dixon's line, *he will live to be buried in the gratitude of the North*, twenty or forty years hence—while he lives and dictates law to this country from the White House at Washington, as he will, on the 5th day of March—and if it cannot be done otherwise, Illinois will cover every square foot of the District with a living man and a Republican—while he lives, I have faith to believe that *not one blade of grass, not one atom of the soil of the Territories, will be poisoned by the footsteps of even the compromise of a slave.* The votes of eighteen hundred thousand freemen send Abraham Lincoln to Washington *to do their bidding*, AND IT WILL BE DONE."

Here is an extract from his speech delivered at Music Hall, April 21, 1861:

"*I have always believed in the sincerity of Abraham Lincoln.* You have heard me express my confidence in it every time I have spoken from this desk. I only doubted sometimes whether he were really the head of the government. To-day, he is at any rate Commander-in-Chief. *The delay in the action of the government has doubtless been a necessity*, but policy also. Traitors within and without made it hesitate to move till it had tried the machine of government just given it. *But delay was wise*, as it matured a public opinion, definite, decisive, and ready to keep step to the music of the government march. The very postponement of another session of Congress till July 4th, plainly invites discussion—evidently contemplates the ripening of public opinion in the interval. * * * The government has waited until its best friends almost suspected its courage or its integrity; but the cannon shot has opened the only door out of this hour. There were but two. One was Compromise, the other was Battle. The integrity of the North closed the first; the generous forbearance of nineteen States closed the other. The South opened this with cannon shot, and *Lincoln shows himself at the door* (applause). * * * The Administration that preceded this was full of traitors and thieves. It allowed the arms, ships, money, military stores of the North to be stolen with impunity. Mr. Lincoln took office, *robbed of all the means to defend the constitutional rights of the government.* * * * Abraham Lincoln knows nothing, has a right to know nothing, but the Constitution of the United States. The South is all wrong, and the Administration is all right."

I beg special attention to the following extract from Mr. Phillips's speech at Framingham, July 4th, 1861:

"What do I ask of the government? *I do not ask it to announce a policy of emancipation now; it is not strong enough to do it.* We can announce it; the people can discuss it; THE ADMINISTRATION IS NOT STRONG ENOUGH TO ANNOUNCE IT. I do not care whether it means it or not; IT WERE UTTER RUIN TO ANNOUNCE IT NOW. * * * An honest Administration, *an honest President*, stands hesitating, *distrusting the strength of the popular feeling behind him.* * * * Abraham Lincoln, Salmon P. Chase, Montgomery Blair, *have not the heart nor the wish* to thrust back into the hell of Virginia slavery one single contraband article in Fortress Monroe. *They never will do it.* * * * My policy, therefore, is, *give the Administration generous sympathy*; give it all the confidence for honesty of purpose you can. They mean now only the Union; but *they are willing we should make them mean anything more we please.* Abraham Lincoln means to do his constitutional duty in the crisis. *I have faith in his honesty.*"

Bear with me while I read somewhat copiously from a lecture delivered by Mr. Phillips before the Fraternity Association in Tremont Temple, in April, 1862:

"I certainly owe great thanks, to you and the Fraternity, who have given me the opportunity to speak to-night, marked as the present week is by *one of the greatest events in the history of the progressive movement.* For the first time in sixty years, the flag of the Republic floats over a Capital untrodden by a slave. For the first time, the constituted authorities of the nation make one step toward that great motto—"Freedom National"—and give us a Capital without a chain (cheers). *Neither you nor I could naturally have expected to live to see that result.* Not the most sanguine of us could have hoped that any means he could call into exercise would so far prevail against the seeming interest and the well-anchored institutions of the country *as to consecrate even the District to liberty in our day.* We have lived to see so much. In a nation that *moves so fast as we do*, it gives us good hope that those are yet living, in middle life, within these walls, who shall see the whole continent, so far at least as it acknowledges the stars and stripes, clean and free from the fetter of a slave [applause]."

* * * * * * *

"I come back to you to-night, as I went away six weeks ago, persuaded that slavery on this continent has begun the chapter which records its death. I have no doubt of it. You may see it in the dispositions of the people. You may see it in the policy of the nation; *you may see it, I think, in the intentions of its statesmen.* But whether you do or not, I care little for intentions to-day. No matter what you mean *or what Washington means*, or what the people of the great West mean to-day. When I see a man half-way down Niagara, I don't ask his intentions—he will go down [applause]. Events—most encouraging events—thicken all around us, showing that by all the elements which go to make up national life, *the death of the slave system is decreed, and is sealed.* I find great encouragement everywhere. *I find it in the disposition of the President.* I believe he means what he said to the Border State Senators and Representatives when, at the announcement of his message, he summoned them to his presence—"Gentlemen, don't talk to me about slavery; you love it; I hate it. You mean it shall live; I mean it shall die!" [Pro-

[CONCLUDED ON FOURTH PAGE.]

THE PRESIDENCY.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN OFFICIALLY NOTIFIED OF HIS NOMINATION.

Correspondence of The Tribune."

WASHINGTON, Thursday, June 9 1864.

To-day the Committee, appointed by the National Union Convention to inform President Lincoln of his nomination, reached the White House, when they were invited into the East Room.

Gov. Denison, President of the Convention and Chairman of said Committee, then addressed the President, as follows:

GOV. DENISON'S REMARKS.

MR. PRESIDENT: The National Union Convention, which closed its sittings at Baltimore yesterday, appointed a Committee consisting of one from each State, with myself as Chairman, to inform you of your unanimous nomination by that Convention for election to the office of President of the United States. The Committee, I have the honor of now informing you, is present. On its behalf I have also the honor of presenting you with a copy of the resolutions or platform adopted by that Convention, as expressive of its sense, and of the sense of the loyal people of the country, which it represents, of the principles and policy that should characterize the administration of the government in the present condition of the country. I need not say to you, sir, that the Convention, in thus unanimously nominating you for reëlection, but gave utterance to the almost universal voice of the loyal people of the country. To doubt of your triumphant election would be little short of abandoning the hope of a final suppression of the rebellion and the restoration of the government over the insurgent States. Neither the Convention nor those represented by that body entertained any doubt as to the final result, under your administration, sustained by that loyal people, and by our noble Army and gallant Navy. Neither did the Convention, nor do this Committee doubt the speedy suppression of this most wicked and unprovoked rebellion. (A copy of the resolutions was here handed to the President.) I would add, Mr. President, that it would be the pleasure of the Committee to communicate to you, within a few days, through one of its most accomplished members, Mr. Curtis of New York, by letter, more at length the circumstances under which you have been placed in nomination for the Presidency.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S REPLY.

The President said—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: I will neither conceal my gratification nor restrain the expression of my gratitude that the Union people, through their Convention, in the continued effort to save and advance the nation have deemed me not unworthy to remain in my present position. I know no reason to doubt that I shall accept the nomination tendered, and yet, perhaps, I should not declare definitely before reading and considering what is called the platform. I will say now, however, that I approve the declaration in favor of so amending the Constitution as to prohibit slavery throughout the nation. When the people in revolt, with the hundred days explicit notice that they could within those days resume their allegiance without the overthrow of their institutions, and that they could not resume it afterwrad, elected to stand out, such an amendment of the Constitution as is now proposed became a fitting and necessary conclusion to the final success of the Union cause. Such alone can meet and cover all cavils. I now perceive its importance, and embrace it. In the joint names of Liberty and Union let us labor to give it legal form and practical effect.

At the conclusion of the President's speech, the Committee offered their personal congratulations.

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE.

The members of the National Union League called upon the President this afternoon. The Chairman of the deputation spoke to the President as follows:

ADDRESS OF THE LEAGUE.

MR. PRESIDENT: I have the pleasure of introducing to you the representatives of the Union Leagues of the loyal States to congratulate you upon your renomination, and to assure you that we will not fail at the polls to give you the support that your services in the past so highly deserve. We feel honored in doing this; for we are assured that we are aiding in reëlecting to the proud position of President of the United States one so highly worthy of it—one among not the least of whose claims is that he was the emancipator of four million bondmen.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S REPLY.

The President replied as follows:

GENTLEMEN: I can only say in response to the remarks of your Chairman, I suppose, that I am very grateful for the renewed confidence which has been accorded to me, both by the Convention and by the National League. I am not insensible at all to the personal compliment there is in this; yet I do not allow myself to believe that any but a small portion of it is to be appropriated as a personal compliment to me. The Convention and the nation, I am assured, are alike animated by a higher view of the interests of the country for the present and the great future, and that part I am entitled to appropriate as a compliment is only that which I may lay hold of as being the opinion of the Convention and of the League, that I am not entirely unworthy to be intrusted with the place I have occupied for the last three years. I have not permitman in the country; but I am reminded in this connection of a story of an old Dutch farmer who remarked to a companion once that "it was not best to swop horses when crossing streams."

The prolonged laughter which followed this characteristic remark should have been heard. It was tumultuous.

WHAT THE OFFICIAL LETTER WILL BE.

It is rumored that the forthcoming letter from Mr. Curtis will communicate, in strong and direct language, the sentiment of the Convention in favor of maintaining firmly the principles and policy of the so-called Monroe doctrine; and in stronger and plainer language the wishes of the Convention for such a reconstruction of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet as shall remove from it all inharmonious or worn out material.

THE MISSOURI CASE.

The Missouri delegates came over from Baltimore today, called on the President, and through its Chairman said Missouri was not unmindful of the high honor of having practically two Cabinet officers, and called his attention to the significance of the vote yesterday which excluded the representatives of the two officers from the Convention. The delegation then added with emphatic significance, that Missouri neither advised nor demanded anything, but she did hope to be sufficiently let alone to enable her to cast her vote next November for the candidate of the Baltimore Convention.

WHAT ANDY JOHNSON WILL WRITE.

In reply to an officious suggestion made to Mr. Lincoln, to apprise Andy Johnson of the policy of writing a radical letter of acceptance, he said that was wholly unnecessary. His reply was sure to be radical enough to satisfy the most radical. To another, the President is said to have remarked, "Don't be concerned, sir, when Andy Johnson was last here he said, if it was necessary to carry on the war for thirty years, he was for carrying it on."

FREMONT'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

GENTLEMEN: In answer to the letter which I have had the honor to receive from you on the part of the representatives of the people assembled at Cleveland, on the 31st of May, I desire to express my thanks for the confidence which led them to offer me the honorable and difficult position of their candidate, in the approaching Presidential contest.

Very honorable, because in offering it to me you act in the name of a great number of citizens, who seek above all things the good of their country, and who have no sort of selfish interest in view. Very difficult, because in accepting the candidacy you propose to me, I am exposed to the reproach of creating a schism in the party with which I have been identified.

Had Mr. Lincoln remained faithful to the principles he was elected to defend, no schism could have been created, and no contest could have been possible. This is not an ordinary election, it is a contest for the right even to have candidates, and not merely as usual for the choice among them. Now, for the first time since '76, the question of constitutional liberty has been brought directly before the people for their serious consideration and vote. The ordinary rights secured under the Constitution and the laws of the country have been violated, and extraordinary powers have been usurped by the Executive. It is directly before the people now to say, whether or not the principles established by the Revolution are worth maintaining.

If, as we have been taught to believe, those guarantees of liberty, which make the distinctive value and glory of our country, are in truth inviolably sacred, then there must be a protest against the arbitrary violation, which had not even the excuse of necessity. The schism is made by those who force the choice between a shameful silence or a protest against wrong. In such consideration originated the Cleveland Convention. It was among its objects to arouse the attention of the people to such facts, and to bring them to realize that while we are saturating Southern soil with the best blood of the country, in the name of Liberty, we have really parted with it at home.

To-day we have in the country the abuses of military dictation without its unity of action and vigor of execution; an Administration marked at home by disregard of Constitutional rights, by its violation of personal liberty and the liberty of the press, and, as a crowning shame, by its abandonment of the right of asylum—a right especially dear to all free nations. Abroad, its course has been characterized by a feebleness and want of principle which has misled European powers, and driven them to a belief that only commercial interests and personal aims are concerned, and that no great principles are involved in the issue.

The admirable conduct of the people, their readiness to make every sacrifice demanded of them, their forbearance and silence, under the suspension of everything that could be suspended, their many acts of heroism and sacrifices, were all rendered fruitless by the incapacity or, to speak more exactly, by the personal ends for which the war was managed. This incapacity and selfishness naturally produced such results as led the European Powers, and logically enough, to the conviction that the North, with its greatly superior population, its immense resources, and its credit, will never be able to recover the South. Sympathies which should have been with us from the outset of the war were turned against us, and in this way the Administration has done the country a double wrong abroad It created hostility, or, at best, indifference among those who would have been its friends if the real intentions of the people could have been better known; while at the same time, it neglected no occasion for making the most humiliating concessions.

Against this disastrous condition of affairs the Cleveland Convention was a protest.

The principles which form the basis of its platform have my unqualified and cordial approbation; but I cannot so heartily concur in all the measures which you propose. I do not believe that confiscation, extended to the property of all rebels, is practicable, and, if it were so, I don't think it a measure of sound policy. It is a question belonging to the people themselves to decide, and is a proper occasion for the exercise of their original and sovereign authority. As a war measure, in the beginning of a revolt, which might be quelled by prompt severity, I understand the policy of confiscation; but not as a final measure of reconstruction after the suppression of an insurrection.

In the adjustments which are to follow peace, no consideration of vengeance can consistently be admitted.

The object of the war is to make permanently secure the peace and happiness of the whole country, and there was but a single element in the way of its attainment. This element of slavery may be considered practically destroyed in the country, and it needs only your proposed amendment of the Constitution to make its extinction complete.

With this extinction of slavery, the party divisions created by it have also disappeared. And if in the country, there has ever been a time when the American people, without regard to one or another of the political divisions, were called upon to give solemnly their voice in a matter which involved the safety of the United States, it is assuredly the present time.

If the Convention at Baltimore will nominate any man whose past life justifies a well-grounded confidence in his fidelity to our cardinal principles, there is no reason why there should be any division among the really patriotic men of the country. To any such I shall be most happy to give a cordial and active support.

My own decided preference is to aid in this way, and not to be myself a candidate. But if Mr. Lincoln should be renominated, as I believe it would be fatal to the country to endorse a policy and renew a power which has cost us the lives of thousands of men, and needlessly put the country on the road to bankruptcy, there will remain no alternative but to organize against him every element of conscientious opposition with the view to prevent the misfortune of his reëlection.

In this contingency, I accept the nomination at Cleveland, and as a preliminary step I have resigned my commission in the army. This was a sacrifice it gave me pain to make. But I had for a long time fruitlessly endeavored to obtain service. I make this sacrifice only to regain liberty of speech, and to leave nothing in the way of discharging to my utmost ability the task you have set for me.

With my earnest and sincere thanks for your expressions of confidence and regard, and for the many honorable terms in which you acquaint me with the action of the Committee,

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully yours,

J. C. FREMONT.

To Messrs. WORTHINGTON G. SNETHEN of Maryland, EDWARD GILBERT of New York, CASPER BUTZ of Illinois, CHARLES E. MOSS of Missouri, N. P. SAWYER of Pennsylvania.

New York, June 4, 1864.

GEN. COCHRANE'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

NEW YORK, June 4, 1864.

GENTLEMEN: I have received your note informing me officially of my nomination by the Radical Democracy at Cleveland, on the thirty-first ultimo, as their candidate for Vice-President of the United States, on the ticket with John C. Fremont as their candidate for President.

I have been accustomed to regard simply as a duty performed what you are pleased to represent as personally meritorious, and to regret the physical disability which alone withdrew me from the immediate scene of war.

I concur in the action and agree with the principles of the Convention. Where, by its twelfth resolution, the question of reconstruction is referred to the constitutional action of the people, it wisely committed to them an issue peculiarly within the province of the future, and not yet sufficiently emerged from war to warrant positive opinion.

While I have ever supposed confiscation and loss of the property of an enemy in arms to be a laudable exercise of an established and essential rule of civilized war, I am pleased to observe that the Convention, when asserting the justice of the principle, intended to remit its exercise to the discretion of the people, hereafter manifested through their representatives in Congress when considering the paramount question of reconstruction. This was judicious. For, indeed, so blended must be the various methods—sequestration, confiscation, military absorption, and occupation—that shall hereafter coöperate to evolve order from confusion and to restore the government, that it is difficult if not impossible, now, when affirming the principle, to provide for its application.

tion for Vice-President of the United States which you have tendered to me under the direction of the Convention. I am, very respectfully, yours,

JOHN COCHRANE.

To WORTHINGTON G. SNETHEN of Maryland, EDWARD GILBERT of New York, CASPER BUTZ of Illinois; CHARLES E. MOSS of Missouri, N. P. SAWYER of Pennsylvania, Committee, etc.

RECEPTION OF REV. SELLA MARTIN.

From The Evening Post of Tuesday.

THE postponement of the meeting called for Wednesday, 1st June, to last night did not seem to affect the numbers attending it unfavorably. The hall was well filled, there being at least two thousand persons present.

Among the gentlemen present and on the platform, were Peter Cooper, ex-Governor Wright of Indiana, Cyrus W. Field, Rev. Dr. McClintock, Bishop Baker, David Dudley Field, Gerrit Smith, Oliver Johnson, Captain Charles Marshall, Rev. H. M. Field, D.D., Captain Melville White, of the British navy, Mr. Bothwaite of London, and Gen. Walbridge.

Rev. Dr. McClintock, who presided, paid a warm and glowing tribute to Mr. Martin's services for the Union cause while in England, and supported it by testimony from nearly all of the eminent friends of our cause in England. The name of John Bright was as usual received with great applause. The Chairman's introduction of the speaker was altogether happy.

Rev. Sella Martin, who was received with prolonged cheering, came forward, and with a naturalness and ease of manner which at once put his auditors at ease, began his address. After a brief and happy acknowledgment of the honor done him by the large meeting and the tribute of the Chairman, he took up the subject announced for the evening.

On the American question he said England was divided in opinion into three distinct classes—a division that followed naturally in the social order of the country—the upper, middle and lower classes representing three phases of opinion and feeling. Each of these classes was subdivided, the upper embracing but a few influential friends of the North. A larger wing of the upper class were represented as being enemies to the North. This wing Mr. Martin designated as the political wing; and though opposed to the North for political reasons they were for similar reasons opposed to the success of the Confederacy. They would be willing to see both North and South fail, but unwilling to see either succeed.

The Tory wing of the upper class was then handled. It was in favor of the South on the ground of its aristocratic form of society, and opposed to the North for the two reasons that our example of free institutions tended to make the lower wing of the middle class agitators and caused the lower class to emigrate. Revolution and depopulation were the two evils most feared by the tories as the results of our example.

The middle class was also subdivided; the upper part being merchants, expected free trade with the South in the future, and were chagrined at the present check of a supply of cotton. Among these were mentioned the influential dissenters, who having demands to make on their own account, professed neutrality on the American question, because they did not wish to have these demands associated with the odium now cast by the upper class on the North. But the lower wing of the middle class were our friends by nature and by grace. The religious part of them, led by Baptist Noel, were true; and the professional part, led by Professor Newman, were faithful in the darkest hours of our struggle.

The lower classes, almost without exception, were friends to the Union. One part of them from simple anti-slavery considerations, the other for political and philanthropic reasons combined. The majority therefore of the English people were favorable to us. All these statements were supported by facts and listened to for an hour and a half with deep interest and profound attention, except when the silence was broken by the enthusiastic response made by the audience to the strong points and lively illustrations of the orator.

Mr. Martin has a youthful appearance, which, after the audience sees his self-possession helps to put him in favor with them.

His style is simple and pure, his language well selected, and his statements are clear.

Dispensing with rhetoric as mere ornament, he uses it with great power when the subject justifies it. The speech last night was thought to be by all who heard it, in all respects effective. It abounded with humor and pathos, was argumentative and eloquent. The callers of the meeting have done the cause a service, and given the people great pleasure by affording them an opportunity of judging of the ability and effectiveness with which our cause was advocated by a colored man abroad. We learn that Mr. Martin has decided to become a citizen of New York and has accepted a call to the colored church to which Mr. Garnett formerly preached.

A suggestive petition to Congress: "We, the undersigned children of Eagleswood, Perth Amboy, New Jersey, beg you to have slavery abolished, and not have any more children sold."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 18, 1864.

THE PLATFORMS.

POLITICAL platforms are the monuments of the political progress of the nation towards liberty, in these latter years. Their construction has always been a work of great ingenuity and some labor, for it is hard work to make a Sham that looks like reality. But they have sufficiently well represented the public sentiment of the great general public, inasmuch as we have been long inclined, as a people, to dwell in shams and persuade ourselves that they were actual verities. Up to 1856 the business of both parties was to build a platform which should be comfortable for slavery to stand on, and where she should feel herself perfectly safe. And in 1856, and again in 1860, while the Democrats persisted in their old fashion of platform building, the Republicans ventured to put in a plank, almost invisible to the naked eye, intended to keep slavery within her actual limits at that time. Small as it was, it was enough to make her desperate, and it led to her preventing the election of a Democratic President in the last-named year as the occasion of a *coup d'état* which should protect her from such annoyances thereafter. When this was too plain to be doubted, the most prominent Republicans in the Senate and House were prompt to offer all the satisfaction that the practical withdrawal of this offending plank from the platform could afford slavery and her high priests. Happily, they despised them and us too much and thought themselves too sure of their game not to scorn the bribe. So secession went on, Edmund Ruffin fired the first gun at Sumter, and so touched the train which caused the explosion in the midst of which we yet stand, and which we may hope will leave slavery dead, or nigh to death, when the smoke and confusion is past, while the nation will stand erect, increased in strength and beauty, ready to begin a new career of life, prosperity and glory.

This last fortnight has shown us new and strange patterns of this kind of manufacture. Always before, the endeavor of the builders was to make the platform as little offensive to the pro-slavery public sentiment of the nation as human ingenuity could make it. The slaveholders and their friends were the parties on whom even those who proposed to curb their encroachments, in some degree, kept an eye when they made ready their common standing-place. This year the two wings of the Republican party have stood facing Northwards instead of Southwards, and both speak of slavery as something to be destroyed and not to be conserved. The Northern people, instead of people of Southern birth or principles, have been the main object in the considerate gaze of the men at Cleveland and at Baltimore. This is surely a sign of mighty changes within four years. The earthquake has split the old Democratic party and thrown men their lives long its unswerving devotees into the arms of their oldest antagonists. All who desire to preserve the temple, rather than the ugly idol which had been thrust into its sanctuary, have united themselves with one or the other branch of the party of Union and Liberty. The only hope of the Rebel party at the North lies in this division of the Union party, but we think it will find its hopes disappointed. And it is observable that the Convention that has spoken last has spoken best. We will not say that it was because of the omissions of Cleveland that Baltimore was more emphatic and distinct in its utterances, but that the fact is so is patent upon the face of the proceedings. And we may fairly infer from the circumstance that the more thorough the anti-slavery position of a party the better its chance for votes. This, certainly, is a new thing under the sun. We think that it would have been safe for the Baltimore Convention to have done its work even more thoroughly than it did.

[illegible], it improved upon [illegible] land platform we must think singularly weak, considering the anti-slavery strength claimed for it in advance. Its assumption that slavery is already destroyed by the rebellion, though rhetorically true, in the sense that it cannot long survive it, is hardly actually true enough to excuse the perfunctory manner in which the subject is disposed of. It does not mention the President's Proclamation of Emancipation, which its candidate can hardly regard as of no effect in point of law, however wanting he may suppose the will to enforce it to be. If Gen. Fremont's Proclamation of Emancipation in his Department was valid, as we hold that it was, then that of the President must have been so within his larger jurisdiction. We have always regarded the cancelling of the Fremont and Hunter proclamations as the worst thing Mr. Lincoln had done, up to the time of the Amnesty Reconstruction. We hold it to have been an illegal act in the interest of slavery. And we believe that if ever the Constitutionality of Emancipation by military necessity come before the Supreme Court for settlement, and it sustain the President's proclamation, it will also set up the lawfulness of the Fremont and Hunter ones in the Western and Southern Departments. But the President's power will not be disputed by any of the Cleveland Radicals. What they question is his sincerity in exerting it. But so high an act of authority, lawfully put forth for so noble an object, deserved a mention at least in the solemn expression of the opinion of an Anti-Slavery body, even if it were to doubt the honesty of its purpose. Perhaps this was thought hardly becoming, and so silence was chosen as the better alternative. The adoption of the Copperhead cry of danger to liberty of the citizen from arbitrary arrests and the suspension of the *habeas corpus* will hardly give much strength to its candidate. We believe that it is the sober first and second thought of the great body of loyal men in the country that the only fault of the President in that respect lies in his not having used it much more extensively and severely. We present the first example in the history of the world in which open treason is allowed to be freely spoken and printed, under the protection of the power it seeks to destroy. The Cleveland platform, moreover, makes no mention of the employment of black soldiers and no demand for justice to them, unless they be included among the soldiers who it affirms should have divided among them the confiscated lands of the rebels; a measure against which Gen. Fremont records his protest in his letter of acceptance.

Both platforms insist on the continuance of the war until the rebellion is suppressed and the Union reëstablished; and both recommend abolishing slavery, or preventing its reëstablishment, by an Amendment to the Constitution. The difficulty in this direction lies in the great improbability of obtaining the necessary number of votes, first of Congress and afterwards of the States. We wish that the Baltimore Convention could have urged on Congress the abolition of slavery by law, on the ground of the military necessities of the nation. The proclamations of Mr. Lincoln, the employment of the black troops and the duty of protecting them by retaliation, if necessary, are expressly or by implication fully sustained. But not a word is said as to the injustice to the black soldiers in the matter of pay and bounty—which has been only imperfectly repaired. As the Baltimore platform so distinctly reflects the policy of the President, we are compelled to believe that this omission also implies a culpable indifference on his part to the wrongs of the men whom he has called to his side, and that because they are black. Had it been his pleasure that this crying meanness should never have had existence, he could have crushed it in the beginning. A word from him could put an end to it now in a week's time—supposing any legislation to be needed, which his legal advisers say is not needed. Either of these platforms is good enough for an anti-slavery purpose, if they be carried out in good faith, if the war be carried on until the rebellion be put down "without compromise," as both affirm it must, there will be nothing left of slavery when peace comes. But platforms do not always control forever the action of parties, as we know now to our advantage, and as we may know again to our sorrow. When the Democratic party, or its Copperhead *residuum*, has defined its position we shall have something more to say on the subject of platforms. But we have a notion that the question of the speedy abolition of slavery, or its reprieve for a season, will be decided on other fields than those of politics, and perhaps before the election takes place. It is not impossible that if Grant drive the rebellion out of Virginia into the Cotton States, Jefferson Davis himself may emancipate the slaves as his military necessity. That would not be a stranger thing than what we now see reduced to action. And we believe that the best platform on which Mr. Lincoln can go to the country would be an act of Congress recommended by him, abolishing slavery everywhere in the loyal States, as he has already done in the rebel States. This, and full justice to the black troops in every shape, would go far towards disarming honest radical opposition and defeating the hopes of Copperheads and of Rebels.

THE CLEVELAND CONVENTION AND ITS CANDIDATES.

We published, two weeks since, a brief sketch of the proceedings of the Cleveland Convention, including its platform and the names of its chosen candidates. This week we give place to the letters of Generals Fremont and Cochrane accepting their respective nominations.

In regard to the character, numbers and results of the Convention, Mr. Goodell, the venerable editor of *The Principia*, who took a prominent part therein, bears the following testimony:

"The Cleveland Convention is an accomplished fact—and a signal success. So far from proving, as its opponents predicted, and as some of its friends feared, a failure, either in numbers, or in harmonious action, the result has been quite the reverse. Considering the shortness of the notice, and other unfavorable circumstances, the attendance was greater than could have been reasonably anticipated; much greater than we expected to find. The Missouri delegation was large, especially considering the distance to be travelled. Had all the loyal States been as zealous in the good cause as those who had so severely felt the pressure of the Weed, Seward, and Blair misrule, the multitudes assembled, and the effect of it would have been overwhelming. As it is, it must command universal respect. The presence and hearty coöperation of ex-Gov. Johnson, of Pennsylvania, and of other statesmen originally of different parties and diverse antecedents, added much to the impressiveness of the movement. Considering the various elements of which the Convention was composed, and the different and even opposite training its members had received, it was a marvel that harmony, on so many important points, was, in so good a degree, and within a space of a single day, attained. Although, on some points, the platform of resolutions was not precisely as we could have desired, and might have been made more accurate, clear, and emphatic, yet we cannot but congratulate the friends of freedom in whose ranks we have so long labored, and, up to the present time, with such meagre apparent results, upon the great strides, in the right direction, which this Convention has made, in the comparison with the position of its predecessors of the Free Soil and Republican parties; and even, at one vital point—that of a national abolition of slavery—with the Old Liberty party itself, as at first organized, at Albany, in April, 1844, the movement from whence all the subsequent anti-slavery political action of the country has sprung up."

Mr. Goodell's statement as to the numbers composing the Convention is, it will be seen, far from specific. On this point, the testimony of the correspondent of the St. Louis *Democrat* is clearer:

"As a question of numbers the Convention cannot be called a success. The calls were broad enough in reality to admit every man who is opposed to slavery as a self appointed delegate, and there was nothing but individual disinclination to keep the masses away. Yet the highest number that has been claimed as in attendance on the Convention does not exceed two hundred. The hall in which they met will comfortably seat five hundred, including the gallery; but the first floor was at no time over two-thirds full, and the gallery half full. This fact produced great disappointment and was one of the causes of a nomination, because the delegates from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and elsewhere, might have carried the Convention against a nomination had they been as full relatively as those from Illinois and Missouri. Remark has been made that Wisconsin was not represented—the State which contains a larger proportion of Germans to its whole population than any other State in the Union. None of the [illegible] Pillsbury) and Massachusetts were represented. Ohio, which might have raised a hundred Radicals right here in Cleveland, was poorly represented, and Minnesota, Kentucky, Maryland, West Virginia, were not mentioned at all in the Convention."

The corespondent of the *New York Herald* says:

"From the numerous rumors and statements in regard to the Convention before it assembled it was anticipated that it would be a large and formidable body. It was looked upon as probably numbering several thousands; but those who had made up their minds to see that number of gentlemen in council were doomed to disappointment. There were about four hundred and fifty persons gathered in the hall. Of this number from three hundred to three hundred and fifty took part in the proceedings, a large majority of whom were Germans."

The question of numbers, however, is comparatively unimportant. The *animus* of the Convention, as revealed in its platform, nominations, etc., is what chiefly concerns us; and upon this point we are not altogether left to conjecture. Looking carefully at the platform and the letters of the candidates, we see evidence enough to satisfy us that the leaders, instead of seeking in good faith to unite the mass of loyal voters, endeavored so to shape their proceedings as to invite a coalition with the Democratic party at Chicago. As the platform is brief, we reproduce it here:

Resolved, 1. That the Federal Union shall be preserved.

2. That the Constitution and Laws of the United States must be observed and obeyed.

3. That the rebellion must be suppressed by force of arms.

4. That the rights of free speech, free press, and the habeas corpus be held inviolate save in districts where martial law has been proclaimed.

5. That rebellion has destroyed slavery, and the Federal Constitution should be amended to prohibit its reëstablishment, and to secure to all men absolute equality before the law.

6. That integrity and economy are demanded at all times in the administration of government, and that in times of war the want of them is criminal.

7. That the right of asylum, except for crime and subject to law, is a recognized principle of American Liberty, that any violation of it cannot be overlooked and must not go unrebuked.

8. That the national policy known as the Monroe doctrine has become a recognized principle, and that the establishment of an anti-Republican government on this continent cannot be tolerated.

9. That the one term policy for the Presidency, adopted by the people, is strengthened by the force of the existing crisis, and should be maintained.

10. That the Constitution should be so amended that the President and Vice-President shall be elected by direct will of the people.

11. That the gratitude and support of the nation is due to the faithful soldiers and the earnest leader of the Union army for their heroic achievements and deathless valor in defence of our imperilled country and of civil liberty.

12. That the question of the reconstruction of rebellious States belongs to the people through their representatives in Congress, and not to the President.

13. That the confiscation of the lands of the rebels, and their distribution among the soldiers and actual settlers is a measure of justice.

The least emphatic of all these resolutions, it will be observed, is that relating to slavery, which says not a word as to the character of the system, but only declares, in the most perfunctory way, that it has been destroyed by the rebellion, and that the Constitution should be so amended as to prevent its reëstablishment and "secure to all men absolute equality before the law." And this is all that the platform contains in relation to slavery and the questions connected therewith! Not a word in behalf of the colored soldiers of the republic, of their claim to protection, or of the injustice they are suffering by the refusal to pay them as other troops are paid, or of the question of retaliation for the barbarities at Fort Pillow and elsewhere. Nor do we find a word in this "lofty anti-slavery platform" indicating a purpose or even a desire to give the black man a right to vote! To have spoken freely and emphatically on these topics would have increased the difficulties lying in the way of a coalition between "the Radical Democracy" (!!) and the Democracy to meet hereafter in Chicago!

The points brought out in the platform with most emphasis and earnestness are those in which the Convention—indecently as it seems to us—made itself the echo of the Copperhead press—those, namely, relating to the "rights of free speech, free press," "habeas corpus," "right of asylum," etc. Of the men composing the Convention we doubt if there were a dozen in all who did not stultify themselves in voting for these "planks" in the platform; for it is notorious that they were generally of the class heretofore most prompt to applaud the President for the acts thereby condemned, and even to censure him for not going faster and further in that direction. But, having determined to defeat the reëlection of Mr. Lincoln by any and every instrumentality within their reach, they do not hesitate now to join the Copperhead Democracy in charging him with striking at habeas corpus, the liberty of the press, the right of asylum, etc.

The second resolution will be particularly acceptable at Chicago, pledging the "Radical Democracy," as it does, to observe and obey "the laws of the United States," including, of course, the Fugitive Slave law!

The letters of the candidates, it will be seen, reveal the same animus, passing lightly over the slavery question and dwelling, as they do, almost exclusively upon the points of the platform which were intended as a sop to the Democratic party. Gen. Fremont (with his eye turned toward Chicago) takes occasion to dissent from the action of the Convention on the subject of confiscation. *He*, forsooth, "in the adjustments which are to follow peace," would exclude all "considerations of vengeance"! Omitting one or two phrases, his letter might consistently be signed by Vallandigham or Fernando Wood. We are prepared, indeed, to credit the statement made by the Washington correspondent of the Boston *Advertiser*, viz:

"It is ascertained that Fremont's letter of acceptance was submitted to a member of the Democratic National Committee before being sent, and was modified at that member's request in several important particulars, the paragraph relative to confiscation, for example, being framed in accordance with his views, despite the opposition of some of Fremont's radical friends."

The correspondent of the New York *Herald*, writing to that paper from Cleveland, bears this testimony, which is in striking coincidence with what we have said:

"Efforts, it is true, were made to insist upon the Convention coöperating with the Baltimore Convention, and even adjourning to meet in Baltimore, where it would be somewhat bound by the action of that body. But all such movements signally failed. As I have already informed you by telegraph, the great issue in this Convention underneath all the operations was whether the Convention should be managed with the view of subsequently striking hands with the Baltimore or Chicago Convention. Those looking towards Chicago were successful. In fact this was the point around which all turned here. A strong effort was made on the part of a portion of the delegation from New York to get the War Democracy and Grant men to unite upon Judge Cowels of New York for permanent President of the Convention; but this a portion of the War Democracy would not stand. They were unwilling to be represented by an old Whig. The question was settled for that moment; but it came up again on the morning of the Convention in the caucus of the New York delegation. Those who were originally in favor of Mr. Cowles as Chairman of the Convention again insisted upon it, and some of them insisted that there had been foul play. The question was then met by Gen. Cochrane, who declared that they might as well settle it then as at any other time. He then reviewed with them the origin of the call of the War Democracy and all connected, the position that the two great parties stood in at present, and that of Gen. Grant, showing conclusively if the latter was nominated at any place it would have to be at Chicago. With this he informed his colleagues that there was only one course for all genuine Grant men to pursue, and that was to secure the management of the Convention and the accomplishment of such a result here as will place it in an influential position with the Chicago Convention. It was all folly for them to attempt to accomplish anything with the packed body at Baltimore. If, therefore, his colleagues were ready to unite with him and others who were looking to the effect and results with the Chicago Convention, then he would operate with them; but if they preferred to turn their attention to the Baltimore Convention, then he would not act with them any longer. It was finally agreed that the entire delegation should take part in the Fremont Convention, and secure such results and such combinations as would enable them to meet with success before the Chicago Convention. Here I will simply add that this result was accomplished to the satisfaction of the movers in it. They now look with indifference upon the action of the Baltimore Convention."

The New Nation, the Fremont organ in this city, confirms these statements of *The Herald* correspondent in a very significant way. Read!

"Lincoln cannot hope for the support of the new party, *for its birth is due to its hatred to Lincoln* and the present Administration, Nor can McClellan hope for a better result. Without reckoning *the extreme youth of this candidate*, his name has become, whether justly or unjustly, so identified with doctrines that are utterly repugnant to the Western people, that Fremont himself, *had he the desire to do so*, would be unable to induce his friends to vote for McClellan. *The Democratic party has no other name to put forward.* [illegible] belongs to the Democratic party; but before the Fourth of July, *Grant will have destroyed himself by his own blunders and incapacity.* What will then remain to be done? Suppose that Lincoln and McClellan obstinately persist; then we shall persist also. When we consider that in selecting Fremont for its candidate, the new party *espouses the grievances of the West against the East*; that it is eager and willing to regain its rights; that the new party favors those foreigners whose rights have been injured by the present Administration, animated as it is by the spirit of Know-Nothingism; and that all these elements are united, young, ardent, and in favor of extreme resolutions, *we cannot but conclude that prudence and patriotism will prefer to promote the success of a party led by a man of unquestioned integrity, and who is the incarnation of American freedom and dignity. There is so little difference between this party and the Democratic party that it would be easy to adopt a common ticket, which would sweep everything before it. Such a step would be to the interest of the Democratic ticket if it would not remain four years longer in the background.*"

It must be very consoling to the Radical Abolitionists who went to Cleveland, to be told by Gen. Fremont's organ that "there is so little difference between" the party they assisted in forming, and the Copperhead Democracy, that "it would be easy for the two to adopt a common ticket"!! And they must be delighted to find the Copperhead *World* of this city rejoicing over what they have done, and responding to the proposed coalition in such terms as the following:

"But why should Democrats have any choice in the action of the Republican party (supposing it were to be successful) as between Lincoln and Fremont? On the slavery question their policy would indeed be the same; but *an honest anti-slavery man would be better at the head of the government than a truckling, time-serving Abolitionist.* And then Fremont is unequivocally for free speech, a free press, the right of asylum, the Monroe doctrine, and the guarantees of personal liberty. *There is nothing in the slavery question to be weighed for one moment against these. So far as the Radicals consent to stand upon these principles of the Cleveland platform, they have a bond of sympathy with the Democratic party and with all true patriots.*"

When the platform was under consideration in the Convention, the Rev. Henry T. Cheever (brother of the Rev. Dr. Cheever of this city) moved to amend the first resolution by inserting the words, "with God's blessing," so that it should read as follows: "Resolved, That, *with God's blessing*, the Federal Union must and shall be preserved." The correspondent of *The Herald* tells us what was the fate of this motion:

"Mr. Cheever's motion caused quite a sensation among the Germans, many of whom were infidels; but Mr. Cochrane promptly put the question, as follows: 'All those in favor of amending the resolution by the insertion of "God's blessing" will say "aye," all opposed "no." God's blessing is lost,' said Cochrane. The suddenness with which it was put, and several circumstances connected, caused quite a sensation. The moment that quiet was restored the Germans could be heard whispering to each other, 'Dash ish de man,' 'Dash ish de man.' 'Vat's dat he shays 'bout God's blessing?' 'Dish ish de man.' From that moment on it was impossible to get the Germans to think of any other person for Vice-President but Gen. Cochrane, and when his name was proposed they rushed it through with a will, all owing to that one little circumstance, which only shows how a little thing decides a man's fate in political campaigns."

If there is in this country a more unscrupulous and slippery politician than John Cochrane, we know not where to look for him. In 1848 he was a Free Soiler, but having succeeded in avenging the wrongs of Mr. Van Buren by the defeat of Gen. Cass, he abandoned the party, and in 1852 was a supporter of the Fugitive Slave law and of that arrant tool of the Slave Oligarchy, Franklin Pierce, who rewarded his treachery to freedom by making him Collector of the port of New York. He sustained the Administration of the infamous Buchanan to the very end; he supported Breckinridge for President in 1860, and as a member of Congress in the Winter of 1860-61 did all he could by his speeches and votes to betray the North; and in April, 1861, after the inauguration of Lincoln, he went to Richmond and made a speech to the slavemongers, then plotting treason, of which *The Examiner* of that city speaks in the following terms:

"This Cochrane will be remembered in Richmond as the New York politician who, from the steps of the Exchange Hotel, declared and avowed, with solemn appeals to the Almighty, that if the Federal government should attempt to coerce the South, he (Cochrane) would be found sword in hand on the side of Old Virginia."

And this man, without a drop of anti-slavery blood in his veins, and whose life has been one long chapter of intrigue, is led in triumph to the chair of a Political Anti-Slavery Convention by a non-voting Abolitionist' who can find no ground for confidence in President Lincoln, the emancipator of 3,000,000 slaves, and in whose eyes Garrison is an "old fogy"!

One of the most curious and instructive facts of the time is the support of the Cleveland platform and candidates by the class of Abolitionists who hold that slavery is unconstitutional, and that the Federal government, in time of peace as well as war, has power to abolish it. They have urged this doctrine on all occasions, ever since the war broke out, as the *sine qua non* of genuine abolitionism, the one only infallible panacea for our national troubles. The abolition of slavery by the war power alone, falling short of a recognition of their ideas of the nature of civil government and of the Constitution of the United States, has seemed to afford them but slight satisfaction. They took part in calling the Cleveland Convention, hoping if not expecting that it would endorse their fundamental doctrine; but neither in the platform nor in the letters of the candidates is there a word in favor of their distinctive principle. And yet *The Principia*, edited by William Goodell and Dr. Cheever, accepts the platform and supports the candidates, thus consenting, on the ground of expediency or availability, to waive the principle which has always held a fundamental place in its anti-slavery creed!

A word upon another point: Some of the prominent actors in the Cleveland Convention (we need not mention names) have constantly complained of Mr. Garrison and others, because, as they affirmed, they were leading the people into a false security by assuring them that slavery was virtually dead. Such a statement, even when made rhetorically, and not as a literal, unqualified fact, was held to indicate a disposition to retire from the post of duty before the work was done. The same class of persons have constantly disparaged the President's proclamation of emancipation, because, as they alleged it did not spring from a sense of the sinfulness of slavery, nor indicate a spirit of repentance, nor declare the freedom of the slaves upon the ground of justice, but only as a military necessity. How the changes have been rung upon this our readers well know. Well, the Cleveland Convention, we were told, was to lift the standard on high and put halting Abolitionists to the blush! and yet, no sooner did that Convention open its mouth, than it affirmed that slavery was dead—destroyed by the rebellion! Not a word had it to say about the wickedness of the system, or the need of repentance on the part of the nation, or of the importance of emancipation on the ground of justice. To have said anything on these delicate points would have given offence to the Copperhead Democracy and thereby defeated the plans of the leaders! Well, if repentance is not indeed "a lost art," it is quite time, we think, that some of the actors in the Cleveland Convention were clothed in sackcloth and ashes!

THE TWO PLATFORMS.

WE print in parallel columns the portions of the Cleveland and Baltimore platforms respectively that relate to the question of slavery:

Cleveland.	*Baltimore.*
That the Constitution and laws of the United States [including, of course, the Fugitive Slave law.—*Editor*] must be observed and obeyed.	That as slavery was the cause and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of Republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic, and that we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the government, in its own defence, has aimed a deathblow at this gigantic evil. We are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits or the jurisdiction of the United States.
That the rebellion has virtually destroyed slavery, and the Federal Constitution should be amended so as to prohibit its reëstablishment, and to secure to all men equality before the law.	That we approve especially the Proclamation of Emancipation, and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his [the President's] determination to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.
	That the government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinctions of color, the full protection of the laws of war, and that any violations of these laws or of the usages of civilized nations in the time of war by the rebels now in arms should be made the subject of full and prompt redress.

Which of these platforms best deserves to be called radical, our readers will judge for themselves. We will only put on record the comment of the St. Louis *Republican*, the anti-radical organ of the Missouri "*Claybanks*."

"From present appearances the Cleveland and Baltimore Conventions ought to have been reversed. It is the latter that looks like the radical concern, while there are many things in the Cleveland platform, and especially in the letter of Gen. Fremont accepting the nomination, which present the first as by far the more conservative of the two."

THE EAST TENNESSEE ORPHANS.

MR. C. C. TRACY, the Western agent of the Children's Aid Society, has just returned from his journey to provide homes for the East Tennessee orphans. We condense some facts from his most interesting report.

These orphans were the children of the poor and loyal farmers of the Tennessee mountains, and, as Mr. Tracy describes them, the most poor, wretched, half-starved company he ever saw gathered, even from the most miserable dens of city poverty. They were so weak from want of food, that many of them had to be lifted into the omnibus! Several of the parents had died of exhaustion and starvation. One little group of three children attracted much sympathy. Their father had been conscripted into the rebel army, and had then escaped to Nashville to join the Union ranks. The rebel neighbors, hearing of it, came and burned the man's house, and destroyed all he had, and turned the sick mother and her three little ones out of doors. Weak and exhausted as she was, and half-starved, she managed *to walk* some one hundred and fifty miles to Nashville, and just reached her husband to die in his arms! The father consigned the three children to the Christian Commission and Children's Aid Society, and rejoined his regiment, saying, "Now I can fight with free hands!"

Two other bright, sunny little creatures were in a house on Chickamauga Creek during the great battle, and took refuge in the cellar. They had been told that the Yankees would murder them, but they found themselves very kindly treated of course. Their mother had probably died of exhaustion, and the father fell in the Union ranks. One woman with two children had been "raised" in South Carolina, but her husband was conscripted in Tennessee, and then had run away to our forces and had been killed. Mr. Tracy describes them all as remarkably good-looking, with blonde features; but thin and weak from want and suffering.

As they journeyed on in Ohio to their place of destination, they were delighted beyond measure at the thriving look of the country. One said, "Why, in my country there isn't so much as a chicken or fence left; everything swept clean off, but here the fudder North we go the better it is!" The most unbounded sympathy was shown them everywhere. In X., when the party stopped, all the first ladies of the town gathered together, fed, and washed, and clothed the poor orphans, and took them to their own homes.

They were speedily provided with the very best places in families—more as children adopted than as servants. Nothing was spared to make them comfortable, and then, in that free and intelligent western community, far from the miseries of war, they will grow up happy and useful. Out of the whole company of thirty, only one or two could read, though some of the girls were fourteen or fifteen years old. There would have been over a hundred but for a report spread by the secessionists that "they were to be sold as slaves in Ohio!"

It is not unlikely that others will desire to be removed by the Children's Aid Society when they hear of the success of these.

The suggestion of this most charitable and practical movement to cure some of the sad ills of war in our country is due to that excellent organization, the Christian Commission.

THE TWO EXTREMES.

To the Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

DEAR SIR: I am so much pleased with the leading editorial of your issue of June 4th, that I cannot easily refrain from offering a word in earnest commendation of it, and a few remarks upon its general subject. I have been sorry to see, of late, so much seeming political *partisanship* on the anti-slavery platform—and especially for and against Mr. Lincoln. I most cordially commend Mr. Phillips's criticism of the President, and his earnest and eloquent exposure and denunciation of his great faults. *He* has earned the right to criticize, and criticism from him ever has been, and still is, of great value in the formation of that public sentiment which is needed to entirely destroy slavery. But Mr. Phillips seems to me, and to most other anti-slavery men and women, I believe, to present, too exclusively, the dark side of Mr. Lincoln's policy and practice, as well as of the country; and to be often too hasty, rash, sometimes unjust even, and terribly severe. In my estimation, he occasionally, at least, goes so fast and so far, that he not only overreaches the truth, but produces a reaction against himself, and against the cause to which he is so thoroughly and so self-sacrificingly devoted. And then has he not sometimes been so changeable in his views—now for and now against Mr. Lincoln—that he has quite naturally weakened the popular estimate of his judgment and his influence as an authority? So it seems to me; and estimating him and his work as highly as any one possibly can, I offer this criticism upon him much more in regret than in rebuke even.

Still, Mr. Phillips knows what he is about, and, no doubt, stands fully justified in his own mind and heart; and he will go on and do his work as independently and bravely as ever, notwithstanding the criticism, unjust or just, of enemies and friends. But as he criticizes others so freely himself, he will not object to others criticizing him, and criticism may sometimes do even him good; and I wish it would influence him to be less hasty, indiscriminate, and *unmercifully* harsh than he occasionally is. But it is much better for the country's cause and the cause of humanity for him to use his Damascus blade as freely as he now does, than not to use it at all; but then, it *is* exceedingly unpleasant for his friends to see him sometimes cut himself with it by its return strokes.

And, then, as to Mr. Garrison, who seems to the public just now to be pitted against Mr. Phillips, and to be as zealous an advocate of Mr. Lincoln as Mr. Phillips is an opponent of him, it seems to me that his generosity to Mr. Lincoln and his administration of affairs, and his charity for his shortcomings are admirable, and of great service to the country as well as to the cause of which he has been such a noble pioneer. It is better, I think, that the bright side should be painted in the brightest colors possible, than that the dark side should be painted as dark as Mr. Phillips sometimes paints it. But however this may be, Mr. Garrison's moral vision is generally so clear, his sense of justice so nice, and his charity, contrary to the false estimate of his enemies, so great, that he is most frequently calm when others are excited, and moderate when others are extravagant, and is thus apt to be more reliable in his judgments. It is natural for him, too, at this fearful crisis, to pour oil upon the troubled waters, and to come to the defence of the too frightfully criticized President. I rejoice that he has done so—that he has presented the bright side to save us from despair. But it seems to me that he has gone about as much to an extreme in one direction as Mr. Phillips has in the other. He has eulogized Mr. Lincoln's virtues and good deeds magnanimously, and so won golden opinions from all just men—though his eulogies appear to be sometimes a little over-wrought—but he does not seem to have opposed with due severity his bad deeds and policy. It seems to me that Mr. Lincoln may think that if he has such a eulogist and defender in Mr. Garrison, he must be *about right*—perhaps fear that he is getting to be almost too *radical* to keep the slaveholding Unionists at his side. Possibly, he may think it safe to take a step or two backward, and let Mr. Garrison still *lead*.

I confess that I very much dislike this hasty rushing to the support of opposing candidates for the Presidency which we just now see in the anti-slavery ranks. It seems altogether premature in the politicians even—Fremonters and Lincolnites both—and I wish it were possible for some third party, more loyal to Liberty and God than either, to be providentially raised up to finally rout them both for their hot haste. I do not believe it to be true that all that is pro-slavery and wicked in the country hates and opposes Mr. Lincoln; on the contrary, if it were not for the demagogues whom Frank Blair represents—an apparent pet of Mr. Lincoln—it seems to me that the Baltimore Convention would have been postponed and the country spared months of unhealthy and pernicious excitement. All the demagogues are evidently not with the Fremonters and Copperheads. But whatever politicians have done, or should have done, it is, in my view, a coming down from the former high position of the anti-slavery party, to go so earnestly and so heartily into apparent electioneering. It is possible, at least, and I think probable, that if it had not been taken for granted by Mr. Garrison and others that it is a foregone conclusion that Mr. Lincoln is the surest and best President the people will let us have, a public sentiment might have been created out of which a better President would have come—or that would have made Lincoln himself a better one. For the mass of the better class of Republicans and Unionists really want a better President. I hear Lincoln everywhere spoken of as "the least of two evils." They don't want a Copperhead, and so they go for the slow, timid, "available" incumbent—not created to be a leader, they all say, nor such a man as they would like, or the times demand; "but we must not break up the party and endanger the Union." Whereas, if they had all come out and said, Mr. Lincoln is not the man for us *as he is*, and he must either come up higher and move faster, or we will look about for another standard-bearer, they would probably have secured the desired object. I think Mr. Lincoln himself would have moved as directed, for he professes to be the servant of the people, and to be ready to "drift" when the tide rises. It is certainly bad policy, therefore, to abstain from even severe criticism of the President—whenever he *deserves* it—especially for the anti-slavery leaders to do so. Lincoln's treatment of Fremont seems to have been mean, and no one that I talk with justifies his affiliation with and support of Frank Blair; but those two acts are rather fair specimens of not a few others which should be severely reprobated—at the same time giving him all the praise he merits.

So, I say, let us have Mr. Phillips's criticisms of Lincoln—only a little toned down, to seem *just*—and Mr. Garrison's commendations, only somewhat moderated. Some say: Put Mr. Phillips's dark side and Mr. Garrison's bright side together, and then you will have about the exact truth; but it is much better to have the exact truth, and both sides of it, from each of those noble men. To most of those with whom I converse, they both now seem a little, or *not* a little, one-sided and partisan—the one not charitable enough and the other much too charitable.

But whilst I want to see Mr. Lincoln justly, sometimes even severely, criticized, as well as properly commended, I want to see him criticized not for the purpose of heading him off from the Presidency, but for the purpose of stimulating him to take an advanced position, and to be himself, if possible, the man for the hour. He says that "if slavery is not wrong nothing is wrong," and that he knows that whoever leads in the overthrow of that great barbarism will secure immortality. Let him, then, act accordingly; but if he have not the heart and courage to do so, God send us a wiser, better, braver man! But if he will come up to the exigencies of the crisis, a change of President now would seem impracticable. I would like to see the man who sent out the Proclamation of liberty to the slaves of the rebels push it vigorously forward till the last one of the victims goes forever free.

JUSTICE AND CHARITY.

HON. JOSEPH C. HORNBLOWER, late Chief Justice of the State of New Jersey, died a few days since at the ripe age of 87 years. He was an able jurist and a faithful friend of liberty, having some years since pronounced the opinion (overruled by two Judges of the sham Democratic sort sitting at his side) that slavery in New Jersey was unconstitutional, and in 1856 solemnly decided that Congress had no right to pass a Fugitive Slave law.

FOR THE AID OF LOUIS NAPOLEON.—The following sums have been received for Louis Napoleon, to make up in part for his recent loss: John Jay $5, Mr. Fitzpatrick $5, Mr. Davis $5, Mr. Brown $1.

YEARLY MEETING OF THE PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

CHESTER CO., PA., June 5.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

THE Twelfth Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends was held at Longwood, commencing on Thursday and closing yesterday (Saturday). It was an occasion of deep and absorbing interest. At every session except the first, the audience not only filled the meeting-house to its utmost capacity, but overflowed into the adjoining grounds.

On Thursday morning, after the reading of the call and the singing of an appropriate hymn, an address was delivered by Oliver Johnson, reviewing the history of the Society and explaining its principles and objects. The Society voted unanimously that this address should be printed with its proceedings.

Oliver Johnson of New York and Annie M. Stambach of Philadelphia were elected Clerks, and Isaac Mendenhall Treasurer.

The Business Committee consisted of William Lloyd Garrison, Thomas Whitson, Mary Ann Fulton, Theodore Tilton, H. P. Crozier, Alfred H. Love, Alice Eliza Hambleton, John W. Hurn, Esther Hayes, Carroll Dunham, M.D. (of New York), and Jennie K. Smith. This Committee brought forward testimonies on the subject of Slavery and the Rebellion; the Abolition of Slavery by Congress; the Amendment of the United States Constitution so as to forever to prohibit slavery; Prejudice against Color; the services of George Thompson in England in behalf of the American cause; Evils of the War; the Cause of Woman; Acceptable Worship.

These subjects occupied the attention of the meeting for three days, eliciting earnest and sometimes eloquent discussion, in which W. L. Garrison, Theodore Tilton, H. P. Crozier, John Savery (minister of the Universalist Church at Huntington, L. I., John W. Hurn, Abiel Silver (minister of the Swedenborgian Church at Wilmington), Thomas Whitson, Anna E. Dickinson, Alcina Wilhelm, Robert Purvis, Oliver Johnson, Deborah Butler (of Washington Co., N. Y.), Maria J. Dennett, M.D., and several others took part.

The music was excellent. It was in part by the Hutchinson Family (John, his wife and children), and in part by a small choir under the direction of Edward W. Nichols of New York.

The Testimonies were all unanimously adopted, and the meeting was in every respect harmonious and satisfactory to its friends.

The regular local meeting of Progressive Friends was held at the usual hour this (Sunday) morning. The house, though the day was rainy, was very crowded, and the exercises, which were very interesting and impressive, consisted of the reading of a portion of Scripture by W. L. Garrison, prayer by Oliver Johnson, addresses by Oliver Johnson, Alcina Wilhelm, W. L. Garrison, Theodore Tilton, and Anna E. Dickinson, and music by the Hutchinson Family.

George Thompson, to the great disappointment of all, was detained from the meeting by ill health.

OBSERVER.

LETTER FROM FRANCES D. GAGE.

GAGE'S LAKE, Lake Co., Ill., May 18.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

IN this pleasant prairie home in the West, one year ago this day, my beloved husband gave up the life-struggle of sixty-three years, and passed away to that better land, where the good and true rest from at least their earthly toils and labors.

No better friend of the slave opposed his mental force against the tyrant power that was overshadowing the country. As long ago as when Garrison first raised his voice for the oppressed in New England, James L. Gage was speaking bold words in favor of human rights in Ohio. In those days, on the very borders of slavedom, it required much nerve to be true, and to stand alone. No Anti-Slavery Society gave its support to the isolated Abolitionist, who here or there among the new countries of the Western States stood as it were the picket guard upon the outpost of Freedom.

But it was not to eulogize the departed that I took up my pen this morning. Yet, while the shadow of his spirit, which took its flight from this beautiful spot, seems to be over me, I would fain bear my testimony to the changes which are being wrought upon the minds of the people, who, when I last visited these prairie lands, four years since, were, a majority of them, given over to the worship of the idol which is now and has been the crushing influence in our nation. I must confess to a disappointment as it regards the feeling of the Western people. Ready to carry on the war, bold and daring in their denunciation of slavery as an institution bearing upon our present troubles, there is yet a holding back, a reticence, a fear of endorsing "the nigger," a want of interest in the coming fate of the poor Freedmen, that is shocking to the philanthropist. In the towns which have been on the list in days past as reformatory—Waukegan and Aurora, Ill.—not a church would allow their walls to be defiled with a plea for the slave. We should not have asked for churches if halls had not been engaged in Aurora.

The West, though partly awake on the subject of the war, and ready to give men and means to the utmost for putting down the rebellion, and while it denounces slavery in the abstract, is yet very fearful of endorsing "the nigger," as the freedman is usualy called, and cannot yet decide, many of the people even of Union proclivities, that it would not have been better, if the South had only been honorable, for the slave to have still worn his chains!

Many friends of freedom assure me that public opinion is drifting back—that there is not as brave an anti-slavery feeling as there was a year ago. I think they are mistaken. But I find a difficulty in procuring churches in which to plead the cause of the freedmen. This may be owing to another cause. The clergy of the West are wonderfully afraid of the influence of women in their pulpits, and have not yet been released from the bondage of superstition in regard to sex. There are, however, noble exceptions, and perhaps our friends are seeing more clearly the blindness of those whom they are leaving behind.

ST. LOUIS, May 29, 1864.

We change places so suddenly, and transfer ourselves so easily in these days, that it is no uncommon occurrence to begin a letter in one part of the nation and finish it in another, almost without changing date; and this, begun on the shores of Michigan, must be ended on the Mississippi.

The Great Sanitary Fair is drawing to a close, and its friends call it a success. And oh! what need of success! How the wail of suffering accumulates, till our very souls groan over the unrelieved wants, as reported, of our wounded and dying! Never were our papers so full of tales of woe.

A private letter from Fredericksburg, from a reliable friend, says: "Shall I tell you of the terrible havoc of our army, and the scenes of Fredericksburg? My heart sickens. Such streets full of dying men, such trains of wounded, such packed churches and old hotels, crowded with agony; and worse than all, the faint 'Nothing' always echoed to your inquiry, 'What have you to eat? Are you very hungry?' 'Oh! so hungry and so faint.' I looked on, and broke crackers in two, to feed out to starving men, till it came to be a reproach to me that I was there, instead of being elsewhere gathering up supplies."

This letter came to my hand amid the glare, the pomp and show of this great Fair, and with it—in the same mail—the following call from Miss Clara Barton.

[The call here alluded to has not come to hand.—*Ed.*]

Clara Barton! Oh! if others, if all people knew her as I know her, that call would fill her hands, and with her hands full, no suffering that could be relieved by mortals would long be abated.

No woman, perhaps, in the Union has done more than Miss B. on the battle-fields and in the front since the war began, and yet so modest is she that few except those who have come into personal contact with her know her worth and reliability. I hope she will be generously aided.

The question will be asked again and again, what has become of all the funds gathered during the last year by the Sanitary Commission? Let the questioners search the newspapers for reports; let them count up the sufferers who are asking help, east, west, north and South; and if they are not satisfied with the answers they receive, what then? Will they let the soldier starve and die, while they waste time and strength in criticisms on the Sanitary Commission because it has not done everything or all that it might? Up, every one to duty and work, work—work—individually and collectively—for our noble and brave men who are fighting the battle of freedom. Truly, "there is time for all to labor and grow weary in well doing," and the time goes on, and our soldiers die while we wait to cav.

F. D. GAGE.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, June 12, 864.

THE National Convention has made its nomiations, and the politicians are quite busy discussing them. I think in Congressional circles there was a strong feeling in favor of renominating Mr. Hamlin, but I'll admit that Mr. Johnson is a strong man, and will be popular in the canvass. It is now too late to discuss the propriety of making nominations at so early a date—too late to criticize the men nominated (if one were so disposed), and all honorable Republicans will go to work in earnest to secure the election of Messrs. Lincoln and Johnson. The Radicals can find comfort in the action of the Convention in reference to the Missouri delegations. It is necessary to read the arguments of the Radical delegation from Missouri to appreciate fully the decision of the Convention. The delegation took the pains to print their argument, and distribute it in the Convention. It is a very bold statement of their case against the Blair party in Missouri. I will make a few extracts, that the reader may fully understand what the Convention decided. The Blair men in Missouri, as is well known, issued a call for a State Convention to nominate delegates to the National Convention. Of the call and its signers the Radical pamphlet spoke as follows:

"Attention is especially directed to the signatures attached to the above document, as they establish unmistakably the character of the movement sought to be inaugurated. The first name, that of Frank P. Blair, Jr., is sufficiently well-known to the country. The position of that name upon the call clearly indicates in whose interest this independent movement was made, and what class of men were expected to coöperate in it. The next most prominent name attached to this call is probably that of James S. Rollins, member of Congress from Missouri, whose vote against Speaker Colfax, and his persistent coöperation with the opponents of the Union party, in Congress, even to the extent of opposing the condemnation of Alexander Long, of Ohio, for his treasonable speech, are generally well understood. In the same list, and second upon it, appears the name of Willard P. Hall, the present Provisional Governor of Missouri, and successor to the late notorious Gov. Gamble, whose schemes of oppression and injustice to the Radical Union and Anti-Slavery men of Missouri, during the rule of what is known as the Gamble-Schofield dynasty, found in Hall a ready and active sympathizer and abettor. It was chiefly in his section of the State, and as is supposed upon his suggestion, that the infamous 'Paw Paw Militia' was organized and armed, a military force created in the interest of the Conservative party of Missouri, and which, as far as possible, was given charge of the polls at last Fall's election, the character of which will be understood from the fact that it was composed largely of men from the rebel service, or who had been in the brush as bushwackers (whence the name of Paw Paw), to which, when disbanded by order of Gen. Rosecrans, many of its members are said to have returned, and are now engaged in murdering and robbing Union men.

"With the exception of some Federal officeholders connected in interest with the Blair faction in Missouri, besides that of Gen. Blair himself, there does not appear in the above list of names, with perhaps two or three exceptions, the name of a single individual who had, previous to signing Gen. Blair's call, claimed to be a member of the National Union party or a supporter of Mr. Lincoln's general policy."

Of the list of Blair delegates and alternates to the Convention, the Radical delegates say:

"While it is just to say of some of the above Delegates and Alternates, that they were originally Unconditional Union men, it is at the same time true that they have either repudiated the above appointment, as some of them have done, or have followed their leader, Gen. Blair, in his recreancy to principle. But of all or the larger portion of them, it can by no means be claimed that they have been or are yet consistent Union men, much less members of the Union political party. We select for illustration the case of Col. W. F. Switzler, of Boone Co., Mo., Blair delegate at large, who in 1861 published and edited a journal called *The Missouri Statesman* (a file of which for 1861 is now in our possession). His position upon the Union question at that time may be inferred from a few extracts from his leading editorials."

I will give two extracts from Col. Switzler in 1861:

"*Well done, Gov. Jackson*, there is not a man in Missouri untainted by the 'diabolical' heresy of Black Republicanism, who will not endorse you in this prompt and befitting refusal to respond to the unconstitutional and revolutionary call for troops by Mr. Lincoln. His call, sir, is all you say it is—*illegal, inhuman, and diabolical;* and deserves the execrations of every true son of the South, and every true friend of the Union and the public peace.

"There are no troops in Missouri, *and we hope* in no other Southern State, *to aid a Black Republican President in the butchery of the Southern people.* If there are in the South, and especially in Missouri, any such soldiers, they are on the wrong side of Mason and Dixon's line, and had better, for their health, take up their beds and walk—and walk fast."

Then follows this most significant paragraph:

"Soon after the above attacks were made upon Mr. Lincoln, Col. Switzler received a lucrative Federal appointment from the President, when his attacks ceased, and as he has been the whole time since and is now, a Federal officeholder, he is a strong 'Lincoln man.' He is at the present time Provost Marshal under the enrollment act for the 9th Congressional district (Rollins's) of Missouri. But while he no longer assails the President as a 'despot,' he is still a Conservative, and professes no change of political heart, being in this, as well as in other respects, fairly representative of a large proportion of the President's appointees in Missouri under the Blair and Bates influence.

"The above record made by Col. Switzler, who has been and is now one of the leaders of the Blair party of Missouri, is notorious in that State, and was well known to every man in the Convention which selected him as a Delegate to Baltimore."

In conclusion, the Radical delegation said to the Convention—the most important part of the pamphlet:

"We are firmly impressed that it is the settled conviction of the people we represent, the Radical Unionists of Missouri, that they and the entire unconditional Union element of the Southern States have had from the South no fair representation among the President's constitutional advisers; that the persons from their section of the country who have held that relation are less in sympathy with them than with their enemies, and that while we regard their appointment as a misfortune for which the President was not primarily responsible, the result has been a degree of injustice at the hands of the National Executive, which they have no disposition to aid in perpetuating. They are persuaded that the chief responsibility for the wrongs they have endured rests with those Cabinet officers who, from their location, should have been the most careful of their interests, and the staunchest supporters of progress and freedom, but who have in fact been the most conservative, and their most persistent opposers. So strong is the feeling upon this subject among those we represent, that we doubt not we would be justified in asking some assurance from this Convention, of a disposition to take what action may be in its power, to bring about a Cabinet reform in the particular alluded to, as a condition to our coöperation."

Yet, after this presentation of their case, the Convention voted to admit the Radical delegation from Missouri, and of the four opposed to it two were Blair postmasters in Pennsylvania! I think all anti-slavery men will be astounded to find the name of Galusha A. Grow among the four.

To render the position of the Convention absolutely certain, the sixth resolution of the platform was adopted. It is interpreted here to mean the Blairs.

The chances for the success of the ticket are excellent, and there would not be the slightest doubt on the subject if the election were to take place now. But in the event of a failure of the campaign and a serious draft for more soldiers, it is not certain that a reaction may not occur early enough in the Fall to defeat the war candidates. It is a settled thing, I hear, that the Opposition will postpone their Convention till September. Then, if Grant is successful, they will nominate him or a War Democrat—if the campaign is lost, an open, undisguised Peace Democrat will be taken up, and there is great danger that he will be elected in such a condition of affairs. I do not like the confident tone of most of the Republicans around me. It looks to me like a blind confidence. There *ought* to be no doubt about the election of the Republican candidates, but in point of fact there is, and it may require the hardest of work to avert defeat. The American people are given to large enthusiasms and great and sudden reactions. Two years ago, with a bad campaign and a general draft, the State of New York was carried by the Opposition. It is quite possible to lose it this Fall if Gen. Grant should fail to drive the rebels from Richmond. Hard work will carry the election. Let the people thoroughly comprehend the dangers of separation and peace—let them thoroughly understand the infamous character of the Peace leaders, and they will carry on the war still another and another year rather than submit to the untold horrors of a premature and disgraceful peace.

Congress is at work very hard and will adjourn *sine die* by the first of July. The Senate is discussing the propriety of repealing the commutation clause of the enrollment act. It will doubtless repeal it, but the House will hesitate a long time before doing it. The President, however, urges its repeal, and he may be gratified.

JAYCO.

AMEND THE CONSTITUTION.

THE Women's National League have just sent out, all through the States, FIFTEEN THOUSAND Petitions, with an appeal to have them filled up and returned as speedily as possible.

The Bill to amend the Constitution so as to prohibit the holding of slaves in any part of the country has passed the Senate. Now comes the struggle in the House. If every one of the fifteen thousand persons—at least ten thousand of them ministers—will but gather up one hundred or more names, A MILLION-VOICED PETITION may yet pour into the Representatives' Hall; and such a voice from THE PEOPLE cannot but make sure the vote, and leave the Bill ready for the President's signature, and Congress disposed to recommend that a special session of each State Legislature be called immediately to act upon the question; and thus the hateful thing, SLAVERY, be buried out of sight before the opening of the Presidential campaign.

Let the petitions be mailed to Washington, direct, to some member, or to Hon. Thos. D. Eliot, Chairman of Committee on Slavery and Freedmen. *There is not a day to be lost.* LET ALL WORK.

☞ Form of Petition now sent out by the Women's League:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

The undersigned, citizens of ———— believing Slavery the great cause of the present rebellion, and an institution fatal to the life of Republican government, earnestly pray your honorable bodies to immediately abolish it throughout the United States; and to adopt measures for so amending the Constitution as forever to prohibit its existence in any portion of our common country.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, at the close of the Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends at Longwood, went first to Baltimore and afterwards to Washington, in company with Theodore Tilton, editor of *The Independent*. He had not seen Baltimore since the time when, 34 years since, he was released from the jail by the kindness of Arthur Tappan. He was of course amazed as well as cheered in contemplating the great change of public opinion which has occurred there since that day. On the bench of the Court in which he was tried and condemned to fine and imprisonment—really because he was hostile to slavery—now sits an Abolitionist, who treated him with the utmost kindness and respect and showed him the original indictment under which he was convicted. He desired to enter once more the cell in which he was so long ago a prisoner, and on whose walls he inscribed his immortal sonnet on "Freedom of Mind"; but he found that the old jail had been demolished and a new one erected on the same site.

Mr. Garrison attended, as a spectator, the Convention by which Mr. Lincoln was nominated for reëlection, and was warmly greeted by many of the delegates. From Baltimore he proceeded to Washington, still in company with Mr. Tilton, where he spent two or three days, visiting the President, the Secretary of War, and other public men, by whom he was most cordially received. On his return he spent the last Sunday and Monday with friends in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, reaching New York on Tuesday, and leaving on Wednesday for Boston.

THE BILL TO REPEAL THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW passed the House on Monday, ayes 82, nays 58, as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Alley, Allison, Ames, Ashley, Baldwin of Massachusetts, Baxter, Beaman, Blaine, Blair of Western Virginia, Blow, Boutwell, Boyd, Brandegee, Ambrose W. Clark, Freeman Clarke, Cobb, Cole, Creswell, Davis of Maryland, Davis of New York, Dawes, Dixon, Donnelly, Driggs, Eckley, Eliot, Farnsworth, Frank, Garfield, Gooch, Griswold, Higby, Hooper, Hotchkiss, Hubbard of Iowa, Hubbard of Connecticut, Hulburd, Ingersoll, Jenckes, Julian, Kelly, Kellogg of Michigan, Littlejohn, Loan, Longyear, Marvin, McClurg, McIndoe, Miller of New York, Moorhead, Morrill, Morris of New York, Amos Myers, Leonard Myers, Norton, O'Neill of Pennsylvania, Orth, Patterson, Perham, Pike, Price, Rice of Massachusetts, Rice of Maine, Schofield, Schenck, Shannon, Sloan, Spaulding, Starr, Stevens, Thayer, Thomas, Tracy, Upson, Van Valkenburg, Webster, Whaley, Williams, Wilder, Wilson, Windom, Woodbridge—82.

Nays—Messrs. J. C. Allen, W. J. Allen, Baldwin of Michigan, Bliss, Brooks, Brown of Wisconsin, Chanler, Conroth, Cox, Craven, Davison, Dennison, Eden, Eldridge, Edgerton, English, Finck, Ganson, Grider, Harding, Harrington, Harris of Illinois, Herrick, Holman, Hutchins, Kalbfleisch, Kernan, King, Knapp, Law, Lazear, Leblond, Mallory, Marcy, McDowell, McKinney, Miller of Pennsylvania, Morris of Ohio, Morrison, Odell, Pendleton, Pruyn, Radford, Robinson, Rollins of Missouri, Ross, Smithers, Steele of New Jersey, Stiles, Strouse, Stuart, Sweat, Wadsworth, Ward, Wheeler, Chilton A. White, Joseph W. White, Fernando Wood—58.

The bill as passed is as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That sections 3 and 4 of an act entitled "An act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from the service of their masters," passed February 12, 1793, and an act entitled "An act to amend and supplementary to an act entitled 'An act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from the service of their masters,'" passed September 18, 1850, be and the same are hereby repealed.

A similar bill, lately under consideration in the Senate, was amended by that body so as to except from repeal the law of '93. We hope now that the Senate will promptly take up and pass the House bill; indeed if it fails to do so it will bring disgrace upon itself and upon the country.

P. S. The House bill was taken up in the Senate on Wednesday and referred to the Committee on Slavery and the Freedmen. Mr. Sumner, Chairman of the Committee, at once reported it to the Senate and called for immediate action thereon, but it was laid over under the rules.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT LOST.—The House was brought to a vote on Wednesday upon the joint resolution of the Senate to amend the Constitution so as forever to prohibit slavery. We are sorry to say that the resolution was lost for want of the necessary majority of two-thirds. The vote stood—Yeas 94, Nays 65. Mr. Ashley of Ohio changed his vote to nay, for the purpose of moving a reconsideration hereafter.

THE DEMOCRACY STAND UP FOR SLAVERY.

WASHINGTON, Wednesday, June 15, 1864.

The Democratic party in the House to-day deliberately strapped the burden of Slavery on its shoulders for the coming Presidential election. It voted to maintain human slavery, and refused to consent to an amendment of the Constitution of the United States to abolish it. Four years ago, in a period of profound peace between the North and the South, every member of the Democratic party in the House voted for the abolition of slavery through an amendment of the Constitution. To-day, in the pinch and crisis of the war waged by the South against the North in the interest of slavery, every member of the party except three voted to sustain the accursed institution, and to retain within the Constitution the few doubtful guaranties of its existence. Those honored and honorable three were Joseph Bailey of Pennsylvania, Moses F. Odell and John A. Griswold of New York.—*Tribune.*

ANTI-SLAVERY IN KENTUCKY.—Samuel W. Langley, and his wife Elizabeth Langley, of Henderson, Ky., have signed the petition of the Women's League, asking Congress to abolish slavery throughout the United States, and to so amend the Constitution as to prohibit it forever in any part of the country. Mr. Langley appends to his signature the following note:

"In signing this petition it may be proper to state that myself and wife are native-born Kentuckians, descended from Virginia ancestry, and slaveholders, though unwillingly so, and only wait for public sentiment to become embodied in laws to insure justice to the negro to liberate our slaves.

"Many of my fellow-citizens are doubtless, at heart, in favor of the abolition of slavery, but yet too much under the influence of the despotic Slave Power to commit themselves. Let us hope that this infamous influence will soon be removed by the efforts of good and true men and women everywhere.

"SAMUEL W. LANGLEY."

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Aaron H. Cragin was, on Wednesday, elected U. S. Senator from New-Hampshire, to succeed John P. Hale, whose term will expire on the 4th of March next.

Mr. Hale was a candidate for reëlection, but was opposed partly on local grounds and partly in deference to the principle of rotation in office, but more effectually still because, tempted by high fees, he very improperly undertook the defence, as counsel, of certain men charged with frauds upon the government. No one, we presume, doubts Mr. Hale's integrity, but this conduct was felt to be incompatible with strict fidelity to his duty as a Senator. Some of his friends propose now to elect him to the other House from the Portsmouth district, which is represented at present by a Copperhead. He has done good service in the war against slavery since the time when, as a Democrat, he opposed the Texas swindle, and we shall be glad to see him again in the House of Representatives.

RECONSTRUCTION.—Mr. Sumner made a powerful argument on Monday against the admission of the newly elected Senator from Arkansas to a seat in the Senate. He contended that, as the new government of Arkansas embraced but a minority of the people, and as the State was really under military rule, she could not be permitted, without injustice to the loyal States, to be represented in Congress or to take part in the Presidential election. The question was referred to the Judiciary Committee.

VICE-PRESIDENT HAMLIN.—Much regret is felt in various quarters that Mr. Hamlin was not nominated at Baltimore for reëlection. He was not superseded, we understand, on account of any dissatisfaction with his official conduct, but only because it was felt that the nomination of another was important as a means of strengthening the ticket at the West. There is now some talk of electing Mr. Hamlin to the Senate in place of Mr. Fessenden, whose "conservatism" on some questions connected with slavery has greatly displeased many of his constituents.

The Army and the Negroes.

"EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

COMMUTATION FOR DRAFTED SLAVES.

WAR DEPARTMENT, SOLICITOR'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 20, 1864.

"*Has the owner of a drafted slave in a loyal State the right to exonerate him from liability under the draft by procuring a substitute or by payment of* $300?"

OPINION.

It is the right of any drafted man to furnish an acceptable substitute, or to obtain qualified exemption from service by payment of commutation. No one can lawfully prevent a drafted man from entering the military service of the United States by procuring a substitute, or by paying commutation for him, without his authority or against his consent.

If a slave be drafted who desires to serve, it is not the right of his master, by procuring a substitute or paying commutation, to withhold his slave from the army, and thereby to deprive the country of a soldier, and the slave of that freedom to which he is entitled by act of Congress.

But if the drafted slave himself prefers to avoid the military service, and to remain in slavery, it is his *personal* privilege to secure qualified exemption from that draft by payment of $300, or procurement of a substitute who shall be acceptable according to the regulations of this department. WILLIAM WHITING,
Solicitor of the War Department.

Brig.-Gen. JAMES B. FRY, Provost-Marshal-Gen'l.

KENTUCKY SLAVES RUNNING AWAY.

From The Evening Post.

The slaves in the Counties of Davies, Henderson and Union, in Kentucky, are deserting the plantations by scores and making their way to the Federal lines. The Louisville *Journal*, with its usual sympathy for the slave-drivers, calls this "a sad state of affairs." It adds the melancholy reflection that "the blacks are entirely demoralized and *cannot be controlled by their masters.*" This is very unfortunate, indeed. Men are certainly "demoralized," according to *The Journal's* way of thinking, when they refuse to be "controlled" by masters who beat them, and sell them, and deny them the commonest privileges of humanity. In fact, the demoralization is so complete that these runaway black men actually plunge plump into the ranks of our army in order to get a fair chance to revenge their wrongs by shooting some few of the rebels who went to war to perpetuate the slavery of their race. Hear *The Journal's* confession still further:

"Squads of *negro soldiers*, under command of recruiting officers, are scouring the country for the purpose of inducing the slaves to desert their owners and follow them to camp and enlist in the military service. *Every recruiting squad obtains its hundreds, and the largest plantations are now wholly depopulated of blacks.* Men of all ages, women and children, make up the motley group, all demanding admittance inside the Federal lines. The banks of the Ohio river, in the vicinity of Owensboro and Henderson, are lined with the homeless blacks. The able-bodied men are eagerly received into the service, but the feeble old men, the women and the children, must necessarily become 'camp followers,' idle, worthless vagabonds, spreading a demoralizing influence throughout the camps, and proving an unnecessary burden and a heavy expense to the government, which the people are taxed to support."

The last clause of this passage shows how wilfully men blind their eyes to the signs of the times. It will not be long before these self-emancipated black people who are too young or too old to fight, will form freedmen's villages as orderly and as happy as those which already exist in the vicinity of Norfolk, Arlington Heights and Port Royal. *The Journal's* mawkish sympathy is all wasted.

But hear the same paper once more—and this time the true reason of its disgust is apparent:

"In the lower Counties of the State the farming interests will severely suffer, the sudden stampede of hands depriving the planters of the only means to carry on the pursuits. Large crops have been planted, but they must go to waste, for the simple reason that the hands necessary to cultivate and reap them have been taken by the government. Whether the inaugurated policy carried out in such a reckless manner by the agents of the government will result in good to the people and the State must be determined by future events. It seems plain to us that its working can prove only of the most damaging nature."

SLAVE-HUNTING IN KENTUCKY.

WASHINGTON, June 3.

Senator Wilson received a letter to-day from Kentucky, which says:

"I don't care how loud-mouthed may be the protestations of loyalty here, the negro stands first and foremost. It seems to be the policy to keep Kentucky officers and troops in this State, and the result is that it is a hunting-ground for fugitives, and the hunters are men employed and paid by the United States as soldiers. Since I have been stationed here, now something more than eleven months, it has been an almost daily occurrence for a squad of men to be employed in hunting slaves, and returning them to their masters.

"I have seen a Colonel of a regiment riding at the rear of a slave gang composed of men, women, and children, tied together, and guarded by men in the uniform of U. S. soldiers. Let me give you an instance. Last Saturday, the Commandant of this post gave an order to the Provost-Marshal to seize and deliver outside of the lines, to her master, a slave girl who was employed as cook at the Convalescent Camp. This girl had been away from her master, who is and always has been a noted rebel, for more than six months. She ran away on account of his cruelty.

"The owner of the girl, with the guard, went to the camp, seized the girl, and, amid her cries and frantic appeals for protection, were taking her away. She fell upon her knees and begged the guard to shoot her upon the spot, saying her master would whip her to death if he got her away. This was too much for the endurance of some of the inmates of the camp, and they interfered, and took the girl away from the guard, dressed her in boy's clothes, and secreted her.

"In a few minutes an officer came with a mounted patrol, and exhibited an order from the commanding officer to search the camp for the girl, and return her to her owner. Thanks to the soldiers in the hospital, she was not to be found. It makes my blood boil to read the high-sounding speeches and campaign orders published in the papers, and then witness these things daily."

The writer then, speaking with loathing of the degradation of United States troops to the brutal business of whipping women, incloses to Senator Wilson this monstrous order:

HEADQUARTERS, CAMP NELSON, KY.,
OFFICE POST COMMANDANT, May 23, 1864.

LIEUTENANT: Information has reached these headquarters that three of the women which you placed beyond the lines yesterday are back again in camp, and the Colonel commanding directs that you send out your patrol and arrest them, and confine them in the Military Prison until they are all collected by themselves, when you will tie them up and give them a few lashes, and expel them beyond the lines the distance heretofore ordered. Also, any negro women here without authority will be arrested and sent beyond the lines, and informed that if they return, the lash awaits them.

By command of
Col. A. H. CLARK, Commanding Post.
GEO. A. HARRAFORD, Lieut. and Post Adjt.

To Lieut. JOHN MCQUEEN, Provost-Marshal, Camp Nelson, Kentucky.

Adjt. Gen. Thomas will be in Kentucky next week, and two silver eagles will take an unusually high flight, and then the slaves of Kentucky will be gathered in by this great recruiter with a rake that will not leave a County unvisited. The epoch of pro-slavery bluster, Border-State sneaking, and military slave-driving, is at an end.

The negroes of Kentucky have got to fight for the Union. Gen. Thomas goes down with plenary powers, and carries in his pocket, to start with, the organization of three regiments, the names of qualified officers who have passed Casey's Board. Sixteen regiments of Kentucky blacks will swell our ranks in a few weeks.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Times.

LOUISVILLE, Tuesday, June 7, 1864.

Numerous negro recruits and conscripts, from various sections of this State, West Virginia and elsewhere, are arriving here and at other rendezvous. They generally look cheerful, and sing "*John Brown,*" and other stirring airs, as they march along. A majority volunteered, but many have been drafted or impressed. In the First District, it is said, a negro impressment was ordered at the instance of Lucien Anderson, as the only mode to fill its quota.

The great fact stares us in the face that Kentucky slavery is fast disappearing, and one great practical duty pressing upon Kentuckians is to adapt themselves to the change with the least possible temporary damage or inconvenience to their labor interests. We should not grumble and growl over what was long ago predicted as an inevitable consequence of the rebellion, if doggedly persisted in, but should gratefully accept from the government whatever compensation it may please to grant, handle the plow ourselves, and invite enterprising white immigrants to help till our neglected fields.

It is understood that Gov. Bramlette has in effect "suspended for the present" the raising of 10,000 six months' men by draft or otherwise, because of the "unexpected action of the Administration in calling into the field the negro laboring population of the State." So I reckon Wolford's occupation, as a recruiting officer and orator to raise men under the Governor's call, "to give the finishing blow to the rebellion," is at least "suspended for the present." He may do mischief enough, solely as a "Democratic Union" elector at large, if permitted and so disposed. The Governor, by his persistent indorsement of Wolford, was subjecting himself to severe reflections from brother Kentuckians certainly as devoted to the Union and Constitution as himself. We hope that he will henceforth coöperate with Gen. Burbridge, and not, from any further indiscretion or inconsistency, be held in any way or degree responsible for any more of Mr. Wolford's incendiary harangues against President Lincoln and the established policy and accomplished fact of negro enlistments.

PONTIAC.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL THOMAS ON NEGRO SOLDIERS.

[The Rochester *Democrat* publishes the following letter from Adjutant-Gen. Thomas, addressed to Senator Wilson:]

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, May 30, 1864.

HON. H. WILSON—*Dear Sir:* On several occasions when on the Mississippi river, I contemplated writing to you respecting the colored troops, and to suggest that, as they have been fully tested as soldiers, their pay should be raised to that of white troops, and I desire now to give my testimony in their behalf. You are aware that I have been engaged in the organization of freedmen for over a year, and have necessarily been thrown in constant contact with them.

"The negro in a state of slavery is brought up by the master from early childhood to strict obedience, and to obey implicitly the dictates of the white man, and they are thus led to believe that they are an inferior race. Now, when organized into troops, they carry this habit of obedience with them; and their officers being entirely white men, the negro promptly obey their orders. A regiment is thus rapidly brought into a state of discipline. They are a religious people, another high quality for making good soldiers. They are a musical people, and thus readily learn to march, and accurately perform their manœuvres. They take pride in being elevated as soldiers, and keep themselves, as well as their camp grounds, neat and clean. This I know from personal inspection, and from the reports of my special inspectors, two of my staff officers being constantly on inspecting duty.

They have proved a most important addition to our forces, enabling the generals in active operations to take a large force of white troops into the field, and now, brigades of blacks are placed with the whites. The forts erected at the important points on the river are nearly all garrisoned by blacks—artillery regiments raised for the purpose, say at Paducah and Columbus, Kentucky, Memphis, Tennessee, Vicksburg and Natchez, Mississippi, and most of the works around New Orleans. Experience proves that they manage heavy guns very well. Their fighting qualities have also been fully tested a number of times, and I am yet to hear of the first case where they did not fully stand up to their work. I passed over the ground where the First Louisiana made the gallant charge at Port Hudson, by far the stronger part of the rebel works. The wonder is that so many have made their escape. At Milliken's Bend, where I had three incomplete regiments—one without arms until the day previous to the attack—greatly superior numbers of rebels charged furiously up to the very breastworks. The negroes met the enemy on the ramparts, and both sides freely used the bayonet—a most rare occurrence in warfare, as one or the other party gives way before coming in contact with the steel. The rebels were defeated with heavy loss. The bridge at Moscow, on the line of the railroad from Memphis to Corinth, was defended by one small regiment of blacks. A cavalry attack of three times their number was made, the blacks defeating them in the three charges made by the rebels. They fought them hours, till our cavalry came up, when the defeat was made complete, many of the dead being left on the field. A cavalry force of three hundred and fifty attacked three hundred rebel cavalry near the Big Black, with signal success, a number of prisoners being taken and marched to Vicksburg. Forrest attacked Paducah with seven thousand five hundred men. The garrison was between five and six hundred, nearly four hundred being colored troops recently raised. What troops could have done better? So, too, they fought well at Fort Pillow till overpowered by greatly superior numbers.

The above enumerated cases seem to me sufficient to demonstrate the value of the colored troops. I make no mention of the cases on the Atlantic coast, with which your are perfectly familiar.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant. L. THOMAS, Adjutant-General.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Acknowledgments from May 1st to June 1st, 1864.

1234	Susan J. Newhall, Portland, Me.,		$3 50
1300	Peter Eaton, Henniker,	N. H.,	2 50
1248	Eliza Ann Morrell, Concord,	"	2 70
1300	Mrs. Sarah Pillsbury, "	"	2 50
1243	Miss E. L. Rice, Burlington, Vt.,		75
1256	Edmund Jackson, Boston,	Mass.,	9 07
1256	Samuel E. Sewall, "	"	9 07
1280	Rev. J. T. Sargent, "	"	2 50
1301	Rev. Samuel May, Jr., "	"	2 50
1256	Samuel Hall, Jr., "	"	7 07
1300	Mrs. Lydia Walker, Leominster,	"	2 50
1260	Simon Mears, Manchester,	"	3 75
1246	Mrs. Lucy C. Brown, Concord,	"	2 50
1274	Thomas A. Green, New Bedford,	"	2 50
1300	F. H. Snow, Andover,	"	2 50
1294	Jacob Metcalf, Diamond Hill,	R. I.,	5 00
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1230	Mary E. Pierce, East Greenwich,	"	3 00
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THE NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

Speech of Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

[CONCLUDED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

longed applause.] I think if he lacks anything, it is neither intention nor capacity—he has enough of both for his function—but will; power to bear up against external influences—temptations that make him timid, protests that make him dawdling, adverse circumstances that make him very cautious, spending four months on one message. But I believe he has all he lacks in his Cabinet, which consists of one man, single and alone, fit to bear up, like Atlas, a nation—Stanton [applause]. I recognize in the Cabinet no will but the Secretary of War. I think him the right yoke-fellow of the President—supplying all he lacks. The two make a working pair, competent for all the nation needs. "You will fight, you will tell why not, or you will go out"—that is the key-note of the Secretary of War. "Why can't I have a court-martial to try Fremont?" says Col. Blair. "Because I am too busy to wash your dirty linen" [applause]. That is the locomotive on the rail—nothing but one purpose to move forward; and if cannon does not crush the rebellion, abolition will. I don't think the Secretary is an Abolitionist to-day, but he is on the anxious seat [laughter]; and if, in the Providence of God, South Carolina and President Davis hold out until November, I have no doubt we shall have an Abolitionist for Secretary of War [applause]. My faith, therefore, in the man is sufficient. I don't think he has gone out, as the papers say. If he has, we have lost the corner-stone of success. A year of sacrifices would be nothing to the sacrifice of "the right man in the right place"—the only man on the continent who deserves the name of a Napoleon for the exigency. But whether he lives or not, as Secretary of War, I think the slave issue is certain—I have no doubt of that. Events move too fast for any individual to resist them. Mr. Lincoln may abolish slavery, he cannot save it. The nation may abolish slavery, they cannot save it."

* * * * * * * *

"You know the boast of Toombs, that he would call the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill. I have lived to hear the roll-call of a Massachusetts regiment on the "sacred soil" of Virginia first [applause]. We were mobbed from the John Brown meetings a little more than a year ago. I have heard the "John Brown song" on the "sacred soil" of Virginia, and the court house in which he was doomed to death is the barracks of a Massachusetts regiment. Who dreamed, a year ago, when those gallant boys hurried to save the Capital, that emancipation would be decreed in the District to-day, with Baltimore sullen under the port holes of Northern cannon, and with Northern regiments holding Virginia under their feet? Yet so it is.

But still I do not think the act abolishing slavery in the District, broad and marked as it is, is so significant as the Message of the President. After all, the President is ahead of the manifestations of the opinion of the people. He holds out his hands to the millions and says, "Support me!" We have not yet answered him officially. That Message of his is the boldest voice yet heard over the continent. It means more than men accord to it. He claims that, and claims it rightly. May I tell you a story?—he always tells one [laughter]. Noticing some criticisms upon his Message, he said, "There is more in it than people see. Did you ever hear of the Irishman who went down to the State of Maine, in Maine Liquor Law times, and asked for a glass of soda-water, adding, 'Couldn't you put a drap of the crather in it, unbeknown to meself?' So I have put a large drop of the crather in it, unbeknown to them" [laughter and applause]. Indeed he has; for that Message means substantially this: Gentlemen, I put down a milestone to-day. I show you how far twelve months have carried this question beyond the Secretary of State's letter to Mr. Dayton. Government sent that letter to Paris; Congress passed the celebrated resolution that they would never be led to interfere with slavery in the States. Eleven months float away, and I, the President of the United States, at the headquarters and sources of information, competent to judge of the nation's position—I tell you, gentlemen, now is your time to sell. If you don't seize it, and another twelvemonth sweeps what you call property from your grasp without compensation, never say I did not give you fair notice [applause]. That is one-half the Message; the other half is an arrow's flight beyond even that, for it says this—'Gentlemen, if you will sell, I will buy.' What means that? Where in the Constitution, in peace times, does he find the right to buy? Has he forgotten Clay and Webster, and the Resolutions of '90, that the Congress of the United States cannot cross the boundary of a State to interfere with the system of slavery? His Message says—'Gentlemen, I will buy.' In other words, 'You have given me the right to buy; the rebellion confers upon me the right to buy.' And he goes on to say, 'The abolition of slavery would be an efficient means of ending this war; If I find cannon unsuccessful, I shall try other efficient means.' In other words, 'Gentlemen, I will buy if you will trade. If you won't trade, remember that I have the right to take.' Pregnant words! Be happy that you live to hear them from the head of the government. For the first time in the history of the government, it has done an anti-slavery act, it has spoken an anti-slavery word [applause]. Sufficient for one year! Enough to have gained in twelve months! I believe that any man who contemplates national events has ample reason to be satisfied with what we have already accomplished in this single year."

* * * * * * * *

"Lincoln is ahead of anything you have said. The State of Massachusetts is offering him to-day millions. What he wants is an endorsement and an encouragement. What the Senate wants is a policy pronounced by the people."

Now see what my friend said in that lecture concerning the wish of Mr. Lincoln for anti-slavery agitation, to strengthen his hands in carrying on the struggle with the Slave Power in arms:

"The President said to a leading Republican of New York—'Why don't you hold meetings' [it was two days before that glorious Convention in New York which Carl Schurz made immortal by his great speech]—'Why don't you hold meetings, and let me feel the mind of the nation?' 'Sir,' was the reply, 'we are to hold them; we hold one to-morrow.' 'Hold them often; hold many of them; hold as many as possible. You cannot create more anti-slavery feeling than we shall need before we get through this war' [applause]. In other words, the President holds out his hands to the people and says, 'Am I right? How far may I go?' Answer him. Tell him, the ice is thick thus far, and will be thicker an arrow's flight ahead. Tell him that if his Message to the Border States leads you to say Amen, a message to the Gulf States that says Liberty will have a tenfold Amen (loud applause). In one sense, we demand too much of the government—of the Senate and the Cabinet. They are the only portions of the government that have definite ideas, but they are nothing; the masses are everything. Struggling up to light on all sides are indications of the popular sentiment. There should be official, grave indications. Leading men, legislative bodies, official corporations, should speak the will of the North, if it really exist, on this question, so that the government may feel able to trust and lean on a well-assured public purpose."

* * * * * * * *

"Now, what I claim of you, I claim in behalf of your own leaders. The President says to his New York friends, 'Support me!' Where is the support from Boston? Your merchants ask the removal of Mr. Secretary Welles, and all Washington says he is not in fault, it is McClellan. Your merchants can find fault—why don't they express approval of the President's Message? If the Tariff or Bank were at issue, we should have public meetings, and delegations of leading men sent to Washington. Even now you meet their influential men striving to mould the Tax bill. Why does no voice go up from Boston, from Faneuil Hall, from the State House, for LIBERTY as the wish of Massachusetts? How long is the North to wait without a leader? My message to you to-night is—SPEAK? The President holds out his hand. Take it. Assure him that he has in Massachusetts more than military support."

* * * * * * * *

"I want a voice from the Legislature; I want a voice from the Exchange; I want a voice from Faneuil Hall. If you do not give it, you are deserting the place of Massachusetts in this struggle, which is to lead. The West looks to you! the South looks to you. The Massachusetts regiments are the worst treated, Massachusetts soldiers are the most hated, because they are recognized as the most fixed in their purpose. Show it to be the same in politics as on the field. Encourage the President to enlarge his Border State Message; encourage Mr. Stanton, his whole Cabinet, to say, within six months—'Death to every institution that makes war upon the Republic, and liberty to every man under its flag'" (Prolonged applause.)

Now, observe—these admissions that the President was ahead of public sentiment, even in Massachusetts—that there were no anti-slavery manifestations on the part of "leading men, legislative bodies, official corporations," etc., etc.—that Faneuil Hall was dumb, and the State House quiescent—were made at the time Mr. Phillips now declares was signalized by popular anti-slavery feeling and purpose, while the President was for holding back!

Now, sir, I could read by the hour just such extracts as these, but I have read quite enough for my purpose—to show that my friend stands in a position thoroughly paradoxical, and, as it seems to me, utterly inconsistent in this matter [applause]. For, if these things could be truly said of Mr. Lincoln at the time they were uttered, before an emancipation policy was inaugurated, how much more does the President deserve the sympathy, commendation and support of Abolitionists now, after so many grand events have transpired under his administration, all tending in the direction of universal emancipation! [Applause.]

As to his Cabinet, I will tell you an anecdote which I read the other day, and thought a pretty good one. Some one, sympathizing with my friend, went to Washington, and said to Mr. Lincoln—"Sir, you must get rid of Seward—throw him overboard." "Mr. Seward," said the President, "is Secretary of State. He conducts the diplomacy of the country. Have you read his diplomatic correspondence?" "Yes, sir!" "Have you any fault to find with it?" "No, sir!" "Well, sir, he is my clerk; I got him for that purpose." "Well, but you should throw Blair overboard." "Sir, Mr. Blair is Postmaster-General. Do you get your papers and letters regularly?" Yes, sir." "Well, sir, he is my clerk for that purpose; and I am President of the United States" [applause].

Now, I say this: that Mr. Lincoln has never made an appointment which did not meet the acceptance of all the loyal and all the anti-slavery sentiment of the country at the time—never! [Applause.] For instance—they were well satisfied with the Cabinet, when it was first appointed, almost precisely as it stands to-day. If you say, "Well, see what it is to-day"; I answer, either that Cabinet has worked with the President, or it has not. If it has, then it collectively deserves its share of praise for what has been done; but if the President has acted independently of his Cabinet, then he has done all these magnificent acts alone, and therefore the Cabinet does not control him [applause]. I care not which horn of the dilemma is taken.

Sir, it is very easy to thrust at different members of the Cabinet—to excite unfounded suspicions, and to make indefinite charges. The air is full of them; but how little evidence is adduced, after all, to prove Mr. Seward to have done anything very culpable! As to Montgomery Blair, it is true he went to Concord, New Hampshire, a year ago, and there made a foolish and reprehensible speech, placing himself in a most ridiculous attitude in regard to colonizing the colored people of our country. He did it on his own responsibility, and it fell flat to the ground. But, since that time, he has done two things that ought to be remembered. He has said of the President's Emancipation proclamation, that by no act of Congress, by no decision of the Supreme Court, nor by any power under heaven, can that proclamation ever be legally cancelled; it must stand, and be carried out to the letter [applause]. Then he has been down to Baltimore, with Secretary Chase, making anti-slavery speeches to the people to induce them to vote for delegates to a State Convention, on this coming Fourth of July, to proclaim immediate emancipation in Maryland. Is not that something to his credit? And yet we have been told that he has bought an interest in the Baltimore *Clipper*, for the purpose (among other things) of preventing emancipation in Maryland! All that is possible. He may have thus deceitfully acted; but I am not willing to believe it without stronger evidence. I take his public, recorded acts, and do not feel willing to allow any private gossip on this occasion to influence my decision.

Again I say—that, in regard to all his prominent military appointments, the President has acted up to all that loyalty and that abolitionism asked at his hands. Both were satisfied, first with General Scott—a veteran in the service—as Commander-in-Chief of the army, until it became evident that, through his feebleness of body, and his great age, it was necessary to make a change. Then Gen. McClellan was appointed; and I ask you if he was not heartily welcomed by all classes as "the coming man?" [Mr. FOSTER—"No; never."] Was there any party feeling shown against him? On the contrary, was there not universal confidence in his military ability and thorough loyalty? And so the people waited three months, six months, nine months, a whole year, without indulging in sharp criticism or doubt of his fidelity. Something prevented action here, something there; now the weather was unpropitious, now something else. We were generous and forbearing, and the President was equally so—all the while, however, in his private correspondence, urging him to lose no time, but to move with all possible celerity—of course modestly deferring to his judgment as the commander of the army at the time. But, when endurance had passed its bounds, so that even the malignity of copperheadism should be silenced, the President made McClellan walk the plank; and all loyal men were thankful when he went overboard [loud applause].

My friend Phillips has made the astounding assertion, that Mr. Lincoln does not want this rebellion put down; and that he expressly employed McClellan as his tool, so that no harm should come to the rebels! O, that is a fearful charge! A tool, was he? What did my friend say when McClellan was at the head of the army? "I look upon the Cabinet and the President as absorbed, swallowed up, hidden, by Gen. McClellan." What, a tool absorbing, swallowing up those who use it! [Lauguter.] "There is no living man," continued my friend at the time, "in the government but McClellan." All defunct but him, and that was the reason we did not go ahead! [Renewed laughter.] As to Gen. McClellan, my friend Phillips said—"I am willing to wait as long as any man for the drill of Gen. McClellan. I am willing to wait until he has made an army *as perfect as that of the great Napoleon.*" Well, that certainly was a very great indulgence! Let not the President be upbraided because he also was willing to "possess his soul in patience" for so desirable a result!

When, at last, Gen. McClellan was dismissed, what patriotic soul did not rejoice that Burnside was placed in command? Did not the President come up to high water mark in popular feeling, in making this appointment? Well, after an unsuccessful experiment, Burnside resigned, and gave place to "Fighting Joe Hooker." Was he not entirely acceptable at the time? Did not the people have unbounded faith in Joe Hooker, that he would "carry the battle to the gate?" But he, too, failed—though, like Burnside, not for lack of loyalty or bravery. Then, true to the country and to the cause of liberty, the President next tried Gen. Meade; and the appointment was hailed with universal satisfaction. Having given him also a fair trial, and seen that he was not competent to manage so large an army, at last he makes Gen. Grant Commander-in-Chief [loud applause]. Could he have done better?

I say, therefore, that all along, in every important military and civil appointment, particularly as pertaining to the Cabinet and the management of the army, Mr. Lincoln has been up to the highest loyal, the highest anti-slavery sentiment of the country. And, surely, it is not for him to dismiss from office men entrusted with great responsibilities without fairly putting their qualities to the test. When mighty armies are to be disciplined, time is needed; and who shall tell precisely how long? Let us charitably remember that the President had a very difficult task to perform. Remember how formidable was and is the copperhead element of the North; and that General McClellan ultimately proved himself to be the idol of everything factious at the North. Now, to have dismissed him without the greatest forbearance and the fullest proof of his incompetency might have imperilled the very existence of the government. His dismissal almost overturned the government when it did take place. The government came as near destruction as it could, and escape it.

Now I say, we should judge of this matter broadly and considerately, and not by the petty incidents or accidents of the hour. For one, as an Abolitionist, as a lover of liberty, as the friend and advocate of the slave, I will judge by a test which I *know* to be infallible, whether I should give my sympathy and best wishes to President Lincoln; and I hesitate not to declare that, on the whole, politically speaking, the people cannot do better, in my judgment, than to reëlect him for four years longer [tremendous applause, renewed again and again]. I say it, because the great issue between liberty and slavery was made upon the "rail-splitter." It was against him, as the symbol and sign of liberty, that a haughty and tyrannical slave oligarchy rose in rebellion, and attempted to throttle him out of existence; and, sir, while those who are for eternal slavery at the South are in bloody revolt against Abraham Lincoln, solely to preserve their accursed institution, and while every thing at the North that is pro-slavery or treasonable is full of deadly enmity to him for that reason, I want nothing more to determine my judgment in regard to Abraham Lincoln [loud applause]. I know that, to complete the work of impartial freedom, many things yet remain to be done; but these, I believe, will be duly attended to. The iceberg from the Artic ocean is nearly melted in the Gulf Stream; and it cannot be long before it will be wholly dissolved. Only last year my friend Phillips said, with express reference to the reëlection of Abraham Lincoln:

"I, for one, have no objection to the Presidency of Abraham Lincoln for four or eight years longer. I told the President himself—and I believed it then, and I believe it now; I meant it then, and I mean it now—that the man who would honestly put his hand to the plow of that proclamation, and execute it, this people would not allow to quit while the experiment was trying. Whoever starts the great experiment of emancipation, and honestly devotes his energies to making it a fact, deserves to hold the helm of government till that experiment is finished" [great applause].

One thing more. The democratic principle, that the people have a right to choose their own rulers, is involved in this struggle; and it ought to be regarded as a matter of vast importance. Slavery is local in our country. The democratic principle, as an element of government, is world-wide. That battle is to be fought out on every continent and among all peoples. Now, then, Abraham Lincoln, a humble Kentucky rail-splitter, was elected, by a constitutional majority of the people, to be the President of the United States. He had done nothing against the South. He was ready to stand by the Constitution, as interpreted since the days of Washington. He was pledged only to the securing of freedom for the territories. On that issue the Slave Oligarchy threw down the gauge of battle, and the war commenced. They swore by all their gods that he never should be their President in all the South; and up to this hour they have made their defiant declaration good. The republic is still rent asunder. Abraham Lincoln is not, and has not been President of the United States. [Mr. FOSTER—He never will be.] So say the rebels; and, so far, they have prevented the democratic principle from being carried out. Now, sir, I am no politician; I am no voter; but I say this: If I were a voter, on the democratic principle, I would vote for Abraham Lincoln to be President until I could vote no longer—eight years, ten years, twenty years, forty years, if he and I lived so long—vote until I had made him the confessed President of the United States [prolonged applause]. And I do not hesitate to say, that if the party which elected him to be President, he having been faithful to it in every particular, do not see to it that he is again elected, and duly recognized as the Chief Magistrate of all the States from the Atlantic to the Pacific, it will be guilty of perfidy and flagrant ingratitude [loud applause]. But the people understand this. Never, since the days of George Washington, has there been such a spontaneous expression in favor of any candidate as has been given for Abraham Lincoln. Already, nineteen out of the twenty-two States left to us have by their Legislatures or State Conventions, UNANIMOUSLY renominated him for the Presidency [enthusiastic applause]. As to Gen. Fremont, whose Convention is to come off at Cleveland in a few days—how is he backed up?—by what sort of political influence? If he is going to run Mr. Lincoln off the track, he ought to have some political strength to show. Observe, I am saying nothing in disparagement of Gen. Fremont. Nobody has ever heard me speak of him, except in high approbation, beyond anything I have ever bestowed upon Mr. Lincoln. But I am now dealing with facts. He is said to be the man to succeed the President. But, "before you cook your fish, you must catch it"; and, I repeat it, before you can hope to overturn Abraham Lincoln, you must show at least some political strength, because the time for effort is short. Abraham Lincoln shows nineteen States. Gen. Fremont, as yet, has not shown a single State, a single county, a single town or hamlet in his support. Who represents him from Massachusetts on the call for the Cleveland Convention? Two men, both non-voters, I believe, and neither of them has a particle of political influence? Now I call that the step from the sublime to the ridiculous. Is that the best Massachusetts can do for Fremont? For, remember, I am speaking now of the "coming man" in the next election, who is to run Abraham Lincoln off the track. If I were speaking on a moral issue, I should speak in a very different manner of those whose names appear on that call; for the man who stands alone in a moral cause, though all the world be against him, if God be for him, stands in a majority, and is conqueror. But when you come to politics, that is another sphere. Then you must have men and money; then you must have votes; then you must have something of political influence and respectability. But, with one exception the signers to the call for the Cleveland Convention have not one ounce of political weight in this country [applause].

Mr. President, we are getting on well. We are to have all our friends contend for, in the end. There is no difference among us in this respect. We all go for equal rights, without regard to race or color. We have not relaxed our vigilance or our testimony; and I am sorry to hear any intimation thrown out, that we do not call for the amplest justice. Sir, we demand everything that is just, as of old. Yet we are full of hope; we take courage from the signs of the times; and we rejoice to believe—as evidence of our ultimate triumph, that, in the rude language of the contraband song—

"De massa run—ha, ha!
De darkies stay, ho, ho!
It must be now de kingdom's comin',
And de year ob jubelo?"

[Loud and prolonged applause.]

Speech of George Thompson, Esq.

The President has appointed me to do that which it is not unusual to do at the close of a public meeting—to pronounce the benediction, and I will endeavor, in the few remarks I have to make, not to go far beyond the performance of that function.

My friend, Mr. Phillips, in the speech he has delivered to-night, has referred to something said by me at the sitting of the Convention in this place this morning. Permit me to say that, in what I then uttered, I was prompted, nay, rather, impelled by a sense of justice to one to whom I considered justice had not been done by the gentlemen who had criticized his public acts. In what I then said, I had no intention to influence the minds of those whom I addressed, in reference to their future conduct, touching the pending Presidential election. I spoke as I did, because I thought that, equally with others, I had had an opportunity of fairly judging the character and acts of your present Chief Magistrate; and because, after a patient, candid and critical study of his administration of the national affairs, I had come to a conclusion the opposite of that which had been arrived at by some of my friends. This being the case, I felt that I should be false to my own convictions, and unjust towards the party who had been assailed, if I did not rise, and as an Englishman and an Abolitionist, give my testimony in favor of President Lincoln (applause). My eloquent friend who has addressed us this evening has doubted my competency—and therein he has doubted my right—to form a just and enlightened opinion respecting the merits of the present Administration. Well, in addition to my other means of forming a judgment, I have had the benefit of listening to three or four speeches from my friend—from whose former speeches I had learned to trust, admire and love your President—and all that I have learnt from those later speeches is, that Mr. Lincoln is the head of "an imbecile, weak-minded, and worse-hearted administration." This is all that I have learnt since I came to America (applause). Few men are better acquainted with the splendid orations which my friend has delivered during the last twenty-five years, than I am. As far as they have been reported, I have seen them, studied them, extracted them from the papers in which they have appeared, classified and indexed them, and I could have compiled from them many volumes as large as that which has recently been published. I know, therefore, all he has said respecting the man whose reëlection to office he now so strenuously opposes. But I will not use those speeches to crush my friend under the weight of the eulogiums he has in times past pronounced upon Mr. Lincoln. I would, however, advise him to do what Sir James Graham did in the House of Commons, when he was about to advocate the repeal of the Corn Laws—laws which he had, down to that time, earnestly defended. Observing that many of the members of the House had in their hands volumes of *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, and were ready to reply to him with quotations from his former speeches, he said, "Gentlemen, you may save yourselves the trouble of referring to those books, for I was all wrong when I said what you will find there, but I am going to say what is right now." So, I think my friend might say to Mr. Garrison, I have done with that volume which you hold in your hand, so far as it relates to Mr. Lincoln. I was wrong when I said those things of him in former years, but I am right now. I once thought him honest, just-minded and sagacious, but I now believe him to be imbecile, weak-headed and worse-hearted?" Yet, deep as is my sorrow—the deeper still, if the accusations I have listened to can be substantiated—at hearing such words proceed from the lips of my friend, equally profound is my admiration of the zeal and fidelity displayed by my friend, even in what appears to me his inconsistency, in the cause of that injured race whose rights he thinks are disregarded by those whose conduct he now so sternly attacks. I know the motive which actuates my friend, and I honor it, though I cannot agree with him in his strictures upon the motives and acts of others. I must be permitted to say, that the most unquestionable evidence should be forthcoming in support of the charges which have been brought against Mr. Lincoln. If they can be proved, not only is Mr. Lincoln utterly unworthy to be reëlected, but he deserves to be impeached at the bar of the Senate; for he is a traitor of the worst stamp, and should be hurled by the people, whose confidence he has basely betrayed, from the office he has so guiltily prostituted, and consigned forever to the infamy his crime so justly merits (applause). Indictments like those to which I have listened are not to be got rid of by saying they are brought for the purpose of damaging Mr. Lincoln, in order that some other and better man may be put in his place. I must know whether they are true or false. Whether Mr. Lincoln is, what I have believed him to be, an honest man; or what he is now represented to be, a perjured villain. I, like my friend, have lived and labored to demand justice for the slave. I demand justice for Mr. Lincoln, who is as much entitled to it as the black man (prolonged applause). Justice is one; justice is impartial; justice is universal. The sentiment that has led me to vindicate the rights of the slave, leads me to-night to vindicate the right of Mr. Lincoln to a fair and equitable judgment upon his conduct as President of the United States. I am conscious of my inferiority to my friend. As a public speaker I feel dwarfed in his presence. I am destitute of his wonderful faculty of imagination, and of that power of memory which enables him to use all he ever read for the purpose of illustrating the subject on which he is speaking; yet, so conscious am I of the injustice of the accusations he has brought against Mr. Lincoln, and of my ability to repel those accusations, that, with all my deficiencies and infirmities, I am willing to join issue with him, and, on this or any other platform, to debate the question, face to face, and foot to foot (enthusiastic cheers).

My friend despairs of the future of his country, should Mr. Lincoln be elected to serve the second time. Why, only this afternoon, when looking into a volume of my friend's speeches, I read one of them with extreme delight, in which he says,—"Did you ever see in the Broadway—you may in Naples—a black figure grinding chocolate in the windows? He seems to turn the wheel, but the wheel turns him. Now such is the President of the United States." If this be so, then why blame the automaton, when the fault is in the machinery? If newspapers are but the safety valves through which the sentiments of the people escape; if public men are but like the vanes on the church steeples, which show the direction from which the wind is blowing; if the President only "reigns," and the people really "govern," let the people and not the President be blamed, if all is not done that ought to be done (applause).

During the sittings of the Convention, I have heard it said by some who have labored long and well, and are still laboring faithfully, in the cause of the slave, that certain amongst the old Abolitionists are deserting from the radical principles which they once upheld. Only yesterday morning, on my way to this building, I rushed across the street to greet two esteemed friends with whom I have had the honor to travel and coöperate in years long past. One of them said to me, "I fear you are becoming conservative. My prayer morning and evening is, that I may preserve my radicalism green and fresh, and not be subject with declining years to the infirmity of conservatism." That I am growing old, I know; but that I am less radical in my anti-slavery ideas I have yet to learn. I have yet to learn, too, that radicalism is incompatible with a knowledge and just appreciation of the difficulties and responsibilities of men in official station. If I have said anything about the coming Presidential election, it has been because—as Falstaff said of rebellion—"It came in my way and I found it." I found that some amongst my old and long-tried friends believed that the most effectual means of promoting the anti-slavery cause was to destroy the present Administration; and having an equally strong, but very different opinion on that object, I have taken the liberty to state it. If my friends really doubt my radicalism, let them put me to the test. What is it they would do in the way of giving the black man his rights that I would not do? What great principle do they contend for, that I and those who differ from them do not hold? The fact is that though we may disagree about men and means, our principles, our object, our aims and our aspirations are the same. While my friends, who think me less radical than themselves, are laboring for the equal rights of the black man, they may command me to the utmost extent of my very limited strength [applause].

While I do not agree with some of them with regard to the merits of the present Administration, I do not the less, on that account, respect the motives which actuate them, which is, that of a desire to see slavery utterly extirpated, and the black man put into full possession of his rights. If my dear and honorable friend Mr. Phillips really thinks—notwithstanding what he has said of the chocolate grinder—that, in the event of the reëlection of Mr. Lincoln, "Ichabod" may be written upon the republic, it is his right and his duty to say so, and so seek to avert the catastrophe. But he will not, I am sure, blame those of a contrary opinion, if, after he has emptied his quiver—no, that is never exhausted—if, after he has spent hours in bringing the heaviest accusations against the President and his Cabinet, they rise for the purpose of placing a few plain facts over against his many assertions. I do not think, even were some of the allegations true, that the evils foretold by Mr. Phillips would necessarily come to pass, were Mr. Lincoln to be placed a second time in the Presidential chair. I have faith in God, and in the awakening conscience of twenty million of the people. Even should Mr. Lincoln be efected, I believe the republic would survive [applause]. I believe anti-slavery principle would survive, and be as active and as potent as ever. I believe the Old Guard, instead of laying down their weapons, would, if necessary, polish and sharpen them anew for the conflict.

My friend has told us, to-night, of forty radical members of Congress who have no confidence in Mr. Lincoln; who desire a change of administration, yet nevertheless, are afraid to say so. He has told us, also, of a hundred men belonging to this Commonwealth, who lately listened to his charges against Mr. Lincoln, but had not the courage either to admit or deny them; yet these, he says, were leading politicians—the *elite* of the unionism, and loyalty, and republicanism, and political anti-slavery of the State. They heard his arraignment of the President and his advisers, but their lips were sealed, and they had not a word to say in vindication of the parties inculpated. If these men knew the charges to be true, but from a fear of losing office, or from a fear of not gaining office, they kept their lips sealed, and voted for a person unworthy of the nation's support, then of all men they were the most recreant to duty, and deserve all the invectives which have been launched against the President; their silence, however, is evidence to me—not of their belief in the charges brought against Mr. Lincoln, but of their conviction that they cannot be supported and are not deserved [applause].

For myself, I am perplexed to decide between the views taken by Mr. Phillips of the character and conduct of the President to-day, and those taken by him at former periods. If I am asked to follow Mr. Phillips, I ask, which Mr. Phillips, the one who praised Mr. Lincoln in 1861, and '62, and '63, or the one who condemns him in 1864 [applause and cries of "Good"]. My friend once said, "I appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober; from Ann street, cozened by old fogies, to Ann street, under guidance of her native instincts." I will imitate his example, and appeal from his sweeping denunciations of Mr. Lincoln to-day, to his warm, and generous, and I believe just encomiums on Mr. Lincoln in days past [applause]. It is assumed that Mr. Lincoln is naturally incapacitated for the work he is now called upon to do, because he was born in Kentucky. Well, if he was, is it not equally a fact that Fremont was born in South Carolina? It does not necessarily follow that a man must be a horse because he was born in a stable [laughter]. In England we had a very good king who was born in Holland; but though a Dutchman, he made a good sovereign, and gave us institutions of which we are proud. If it was the misfortune of Mr. Lincoln to be born in Kentucky, we know he did not stay long there. We know, too, that he has been the architect of his own fortunes, and that by his industry, probity, high principles and proverbial honesty, he has won his way to the confidence of the American people. We know, too, that he was elected President upon a platform, the *ne plus ultra* of the anti-slavery of which was the exclusion of slavery from the fifteen hundred thousand square miles of North-Western Territory; yet, within two years from the time he went into the White House, he issued a proclamation giving liberty to more than three million slaves [applause]. He has united this great Republican nation in the bonds of diplomatic relationship with the hitherto scorned and outlawed negro republics of Hayti and Liberia; and I read in the papers of yesterday, that the representative of one of these States was introduced upon the floor of the Senate, and received the same attentions as are usually paid to the Ministers of Foreign countries [applause]. He has purged the National District from the reproach and pollution of slavery, and has thereby put the national brand upon the sin and crime of holding human beings in bondage [applause]. By formal Message and Resolution, sent to the House of Representatives, and by personal interviews with the men from the Border States, he has done what he could to promote emancipation in the districts which his Proclamation could not reach. Thus, he has gone on from step to step, ever advancing and never retreating, until a series of measures has been accomplished, such as the most sanguine amongst us never dreamed to see carried during the present generation. They have been measures so grand, so beneficent and all important, that we who have contemplated them from the opposite side of the ocean have given God thanks on your behalf, and have rejoiced with you in the triumphs you have won [applause]. I have listened to the speeches of Mr. Phillips with the deepest respect, and have endeavored to weigh his arguments with candor, and give all due weight to his facts. I have listened, also, to the speeches of Mr. Foster and Mr. Pillsbury; but nothing that I have heard has shaken my confidence in the uprightness of Mr. Lincoln, or has convinced me that, all circumstances duly considered, he has not performed his arduous and complicated duties in a manner to deserve the continued support of the friends of the colored race. He may not be a pure and perfect chrysolite; he may have, and doubtless has, his infirmities—for who amongst us is perfect?—but when I look to the difficulties he has had to surmount, the warring elements by which he has been surrounded, the enemies within and without that have compassed his destruction, and to the comparative fewness of the numbers of those who have been prepared to sustain him in really radical measures, I cannot but regard him as the man for the situation [applause]. Does Mr. Phillips think that, in 1861, Mr. Lincoln might have announced a programme that would have covered his ground as a radical Abolitionist?

Mr. FOSTER (in a loud voice)—Yes.

Mr. THOMPSON.—Mr. Phillips is of age, let him speak for himself.

Mr. PHILLIPS—Yes.

Mr. THOMPSON—Well, all I can say is, I do not think a radical anti-slavery programme at that time would have been tolerated, still less supported by the people at large. I believe the attempt to carry out such a programme would have been a failure. But, if the people who govern were ready at that time for radical measures, why did they not exert their power, and why did they not turn the wheel that moves the figure in the shop window? Why did they not make the automaton grind? I believe, with Mr. Phillips, that the people govern, and therefore it is that I consider that, for the things which he condemns, the people are to blame rather than Mr. Lincoln. There are two things you may do. You may declare yourselves the political opponents of Mr. Lincoln, and, as such, you may criticize, condemn, denounce, and seek to destroy him. You may do this, and, after all, may fail to achieve your object. The other thing that you may do is, to take Mr. Lincoln as he is—tell him what you want—demand all that is necessary, just and right—give him all the assistance in your power—and compel him to do your bidding [applause]. You may, also, take these forty Senators and Representatives, and the hundred leading men of Massachusetts, of whom we have heard, and make them honest men [applause.] Mr. Phillips will then have no secrets to tell, and the people will know who are for Mr. Lincoln, and who are against him, and who it is that would do more for the black man if the President did not stand in the way [renewed applause.] In the meantime, let the people have a list of the names of those who think Mr. Lincoln stands in opposition to radical measures, but are afraid to say what they think [applause and cries of "Good!"].

There is one word which, before I sit down, I wish to say publicly in the presence of my friend Mr. Phillips. He has said some hard things of my country, and I hope he will continue to censure us whenever there is just cause. But he has said one thing which we do not deserve. He has said that "England, as a unit, hates America." This is not the fact. The statement has, I know, pained very many of my countrymen who, equally with the people of New England, admire and love Wendell Phillips for his heroic and disinterested championship of the cause of the oppressed. It is not true that England as a unit hates America.

VOICES.—True, true.

Mr. THOMPSON—No, it is not true, and facts in abundance disprove the allegation [applause]. Your national archives at Washington contain the evidence, in the shape of resolutions and addresses, that hundreds of thousands of Englishmen are as sincerely desirous for the welfare and prosperity of this country as the people of the Old Bay State. The most popular meetings held in London are those called to express sympathy with your government in its efforts to put down the wicked rebellion which is still raging in the South. As for those in my country who hate your free government, and your free institutions, I have nothing to say in their defence. They are the enemies of liberty at home, as they are the haters of liberty abroad. But that the great body of the English people hate America, I take leave to deny [applause]. If my friend were now to go to England, the true, honest and unsophisticated people of that country, forgiving and forgetting what he has said, would give him an ovation second only to that which Garibaldi has received. From Cape Clear to the Giant's Causeway, and from John o' Groat's to the Land's End, the friends of human freedom would receive him to their homes and their hearts, and would delight to do honor to the man who for seven and twenty years has consecrated his high intellectual endowments, his rich and varied acquirements, to the cause of the most despised and down-trodden of the human race [great applause]. I regret that Mr. Phillips should consider it his duty to speak of the government of this country in the way he has done to-night. If, hereafter, but little respect should be exhibited for the government of America by that of my own country, let it be remembered, that through the lips of New England's most accomplished orator the Administration at Washington has been pronounced "imbecile, weak-headed, and worse-hearted" [applause]. I am free to confess, I think better of that Administration than my friend. If I do not mistake, Mr. Lincoln is governed by sound instincts and high principles, and if the people will command him to do that which is right, and will sustain him, he will obey. Nearly ten months have yet to elapse before his term of office expires. Much may be done in that time; and looking to what has been done in the year that is past, much may be hoped and expected. Instead of waiting till a new President ascends the chair, let all that is possible be obtained through the present incumbent. Do not take it for granted that Mr. Lincoln will not do the things you desire; but bring the necessary pressure to bear, and see what may be effected now; if he will not, ere he descends from his present elevation to the position of a private citizen, become the instrument in your hands of breaking every yoke, and of making this country from the Gulf to the Mountains all hallowed ground [prolonged applause].

Mr. PHILLIPS—At this late hour, I ask only five minutes, ladies and gentlemen; and the President of the Convention requests that the members will remain to vote on the resolutions.

Understand me. I do not blame—far from it—my friend, Mr. Thompson, or my friend, Mr. Garrison, for their opinions, their speeches, or anything they have said of me. I recognize, most cordially, their right, as old and tried leaders, to our respectful deference in all matters relating to this cause.

Secondly, understand this: If that book [Mr. Phillips's speeches] was Phillips drunk, and I am Phillips sober, or the reverse, what of it? Proving me inconsistent does not begin to prove Mr. Lincoln wise or capable. That cause must be hardly pushed and in desperate need, which has nothing better to urge than the inconsistency of its opponent [applause]. Suppose all Mr. Garrison urges is true. As Waldo Emerson said years ago—"What is inconsistency? Education." It is only passing from error to truth.

A VOICE—It is the other way.

Mr. PHILLIPS—Well, it is at least *an attempt* to pass from error to truth.

But, again; with that book before me, or all the speeches that my friend says he has so kindly pasted and indexed, I have no occasion to say, as Sir James Graham did, "I was wrong." Not a whit of it. If Mr. Garrison had read the whole of each speech, and *the dates*—mark you, the dates—and then had put with it the other speeches of that very volume, I should have no occasion to shrink from the view [applause, and cries of "Good"]. There may be, here and there, an unguarded expression, such as every extemporaneous speaker must fall into occasionally; but paragraph by paragraph, page by page, speech by speech, I challenge the record. It only proves that I have been hopeful, fair, impartial, as months rolled away [loud applause]; interpreting each day as hopefully, with as "generous sympathy" for the government as I could, and now I look back on the last three years, and judge them in the full light of a general, deliberate retrospect. Enough of that.

Thirdly: my friend, Mr. Thompson, says that I have disabled his judgment; presuming to think that I, living on the spot, know my own country better than he does, living three thousand miles off. I am sorry to hear that he considers that presumption. When, later in his speech, he asked me, with wondering and incredulous surprise, how it could be that a hundred Massachusetts politicians thought differently from what they spoke, it occurred to me, that if he lived with us a year, he would find I knew the country better than he did [applause]. If he lives here twelve months, do you believe, friends, that he will be surprised at the character I attribute to Massachusetts politicians? [Applause and hisses.] He showed, by the very honesty of his astonishment, that I was indeed correct, when I said that I knew America better than he did. But again, he says that I erred if I ever said (of which I have no recollection) that England, as a unit, hated America. If he says it is not true, if that is his judgment, on the spot, I acknowledge that he, an Englishman, living in England, walking up and down its highways, and addressing its audiences, knows England better than I do; with his testimony, on the same principle that I asked it of him, I defer to his better judgment, and, if I ever made such a statement, I take it back [loud applause]. Would he not be somewhat surprised, if instead of doing so, I called it presumption in him to consider his knowledge of England better than mine, and claimed that he should give up his opinion and accept mine on such a matter? I am not aware, however, that I ever did say England as a unit hated America. I have said that her aristocracy, and her government, representing that class, hated America. So I still think. I shall welcome his opinion on that point, and shall give it infinitely more weight in deciding the question than my own. Enough of that.

Fourthly: Ladies and gentlemen, you are now to vote on these resolutions. Remember this; the mover of them thought it necessary to sustain them by what, I venture to say, has not of late been heard on the platform of any Anti-Slavery Convention—by praise of Seward, McClellan, and Montgomery Blair ["Hear, hear"]. You who feel that you can say amen to such eulogy, vote for these resolutions; but you who believe as I have for the last three years, that freedom and the Union have no craftier, no more dangerous enemy than Seward [applause and hisses], you who remember the long agony with which we groaned under the first ten months of McClellan's treasonable idleness, and then the indignation with which we saw his return to power [renewed hisses and applause], and who believe that the Montgomery Blair, whom I honestly praised in 1861, has become the traitor of 1864, vote against these resolutions. Every man who hisses me for that statement, vote for these resolutions; every man who cannot endorse that eulogy of Mr. Garrison vote against them.

Mr. GARRISON—Mr. President, one word. My friend Phillips's speeches, in relation to Mr. Lincoln, devour each other [laughter and applause]. It is not that he has been getting undeceived. Assuredly, if he had simply changed his mind, I should not think of presenting the case here as worthy of special notice. We all change, and may change for the better—be wiser to-day than we were yesterday. The trouble is, that his speeches pertaining to Mr. Lincoln, since the rebellion broke out, are irreconcilably contradictory [applause].

Now, as to my alleged eulogy of Montgomery Blair, William H. Seward, etc., I have given none. All I said was, that Montgomery Blair had given the strongest testimony in favor of the binding nature of the President's Proclamation of Emancipation, and declared that no power could legally repeal it; and I thought that, in fairness, it ought to be put to his credit. Is that to be eulogistic? I said that he had gone to Baltimore, to influence the people of Maryland to make a Constitution abolishing slavery throughout that State on the fourth day of July. Is not that a creditable fact? I said of William H. Seward, that, while I had not a very high opinion of him, still there was a great deal of indefinite accusation against him, and a very little that you could put your finger upon to condemn. Yet all the vials of denunciation have been poured out upon him, as though he were the vilest of tricksters, and an enemy of the cause of freedom. But has there been a particle of evidence adduced to show that he is thus guilty? Mr. Seward, however culpable he may be, has a right (a right which the veriest criminal enjoys) to say,—"Produce the evidence; convict me before you proceed to punish me." But this stabbing in the dark, without any tangible evidence presented to support the charges—I say it is not just, even in regard to Mr. Seward; and I am not his eulogist. Let not the efficacy of fair criticism be impaired by wholesale impeachment. This is all I contend for.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH rose to speak, but his voice was drowned in clamorous calls of "question," "question," and loud stamping of feet. After a while, order was partially restored, and Mr. Burleigh said:

All I have to say will take less time than the clamor which is made to prevent it; but what I have to say will be said. What I wish to say is this: I desire that it may be distinctly understood by those who vote on this question, that there are those who believe the best course to be taken is to pass both sets of resolutions. Now, if you vote to substitute the one for the other, you prevent all possibility of passing the series originally introduced; but if you vote not to make that substitution, then you leave it possible to pass them both.

Now, if what has been said here in reference to the anti-slavery position and character of the Administration is all correct, there need be no hesitation about passing the resolutions offered by Mr. Pillsbury, for they exactly endorse such an Administration as itself—one true to the cause of freedom, and that can be relied upon in the warfare against slavery. Hence, then, I hope that every one who is willing to acknowledge by his acts, that the argument of our friends in favor of the Administration is conclusive, will show his consistency by voting, not to substitute the second resolution for the first, without they shall both be adopted.

I have said what I wished to say in regard to these resolutions. I wanted it to be understood that this Convention meets here to defend the rights of man; and one of those rights I am here asserting in my own person; and when the audience acknowledge it, then I retire, and not until then [applause].

The President called upon the Convention to maintain silence, that Mr. Burleigh might see that his right was acknowledged; and almost perfect quiet having been restored, Mr. B. took his seat.

The question on the motion to substitute Mr. Garrison's resolutions for those of Mr. Pillsbury was then taken, and it was declared lost.

The resolutions offered by Mr. Pillsbury were then adopted.

Mr. BURLEIGH moved that the series offered by Mr. Garrison be adopted.

Mr. PHILLIPS moved to amend the first resolution so that it should read—"Resolved, That the progress of the anti-slavery cause since the rebellion broke out, has been truly wonderful." The amendment was adopted.

Mr. FOSTER moved to amend by striking out the assertion that the government had recognized the right of citizenship of the negro.

Mr. GARRISON accepted the amendment, and the resolutions were adopted.

Mr. POWELL then introduced his resolutions, published heretofore, in reference to the amendment of the Constitution, which were adopted, and the Convention, at 11.15 adjourned—most of the large audience, absorbed by the interest and power of the discussion, having remained until the close.

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